



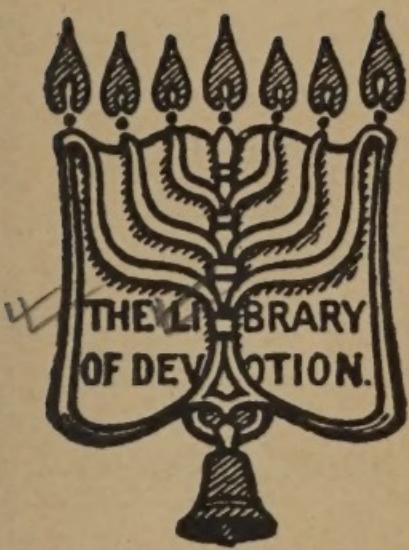
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THE
SPIRITUAL COMBAT

OF
DOM LORENZO
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TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN
WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

BY THE REV.
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TO THE
VENERATED MEMORY
OF THE
COUNT GIROLAMO DI PORCIA IL VECCHIO
TO WHOSE RIPE EXPERIENCE IN THE DIRECTION OF SOULS
AND DEEP SENSE OF THE TRUE METHODS OF
SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION
THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH OWES
UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THE
SPIRITUAL COMBAT

“The memory of the just is blessed.”—PROV. x. 7.

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INTRODUCTION

I

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES was not the first to appreciate the value of the *Spiritual Combat* as a guide to the devotional life. This privilege belongs to Count Girolamo di Porcia the elder, who dedicated the first edition to the Nuns of St. Andrea at Venice in 1589. It commended itself to all by its own intrinsic merits, and during the first ten years after its publication, notwithstanding its anonymous authorship, it was translated into German, Latin, French, and English.

But it is in the life and writings of St. Francis de Sales that the first-fruits of the *Spiritual Combat* may be gathered. St. Francis was in Padua from the early part of 1587 to October 1591.¹ The book was recommended to him by a Theatine, and, as he told his friend the Bishop of Belley, it had been from that time his master in the things of the spirit and of the inner life.² Pérennés says that the book was given to him

¹ *Introduction to the Devout Life*, by St. Francis de Sales. Methuen, 1906. Intr. pp. xxvii.-xxxii.

² *L'Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales*, de M. Jean-Pierre Camus, Evêque de Belley, P. xiv. Sect. xvi. Ed. Migne, T. ii. p. 925.

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by the author, Fr. Scupoli, in 1589.¹ It may be that it was given him by Scupoli, and it is most probable that Scupoli was the author. Vezzosi, the chief authority on the Theatine authorship of the *Spiritual Combat*,² only suggests the possibility that it was given to St. Francis by Scupoli, who was living at Venice at that time, and as appears in the manuscript journals of the Theatine houses at Venice and Padua, frequently crossed over to stay with the Theatine Fathers at Padua.

St. Francis not only showed his appreciation of the *Spiritual Combat* by the use he himself made of it; he recommended it again and again in his letters of spiritual counsel, and it formed the ground-work of his own *Introduction to the Devout Life*.

In April 1604 St. Francis wrote to Madame Rose Bourgeois, the Abbess of Puy-d'Orbe, urging her to live in peace amid the trials and troubles of her work, and referred her to certain chapters of the *Spiritual Combat* in support of the counsels he had given to her: “Lisez, ma bonne fille, les chapitres 15, 16, et 17 du *Combat Spirituel* et les ajoutez à ce que j'ai dit; et pour le présent cela suffira.”³

¹ *Vie de Saint François de Sales*, Franç. Pérennés, i. 9. Ed. Migne, T. i. p. 166.

² *I Scrittori de' Chericì regolari detti Teatini d'Antonio Francesco Vezzosi della loro congregazione*. Roma, 1780. 2 vols.

³ *Correspondance Epistolaire*, Let. ix. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 434.

In October 1604 he recommends it to Madame la Présidente Brulart: "Lisez fort le *Combat Spirituel*: je vous le recommande."¹ In a letter to Madame de Chantal, April 1606, he compares it with another devotional book, the *Méthode de servir Dieu*; the *Spiritual Combat* contains all that there is in the *Méthode*, but states it with greater method: "Le livre de la *Méthode de servir Dieu* est bon, mais embarrassé et difficile plus qu'il ne vous est requis: celui du *Combat Spirituel* contient tout ce qu'il dit, et plus méthodiquement."²

He speaks of it as his dear book. Writing to Madame de Chantal in July 1607, he says: "Ma chère fille, lisez le xxviii^e. chapitre du *Combat Spirituel*,³ qui est mon cher livre, et que je porte en ma poche il y a bien dix-huit ans,⁴ et que je ne relis jamais sans profit."⁵ In November 1607 he writes to Madame de Chantal: "Vous en trouverez je ne sais quoi dans le petit livre du *Combat Spirituel*, que je vous ai si souvent recommandé."⁶ He here refers to the spiritual duty of

¹ *Corr. Epist.* Let. lxxiv. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 486.

² *Ibid.* Let. cii. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 562.

³ It is almost certain from the context that he is referring to the edition of 1589 or 1590, in thirty-three chapters, which formed the basis of the first French version published at Paris in 1595. The twenty-eighth chapter of the enlarged edition of 1599 does not bear upon the counsel given in this letter. See Appendix i.

⁴ This implies that he used the edition of 1589.

⁵ *Corr. Epist.* Let. cxl. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 638.

⁶ *Ibid.* Let. cxlix. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 654.

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loving the will of God more than anything else in the world.¹

In a letter written to a lady in November 1607, he compares the *Spiritual Combat* to three other books of devotion, the *Méthode de servir Dieu*, the *Abrégé de la perfection chrétienne*, and the *Perle évangélique*. He contrasts the obscurity of these books with the clear and practical counsels of the *Spiritual Combat*: “*La Méthode, la Perfection, la Perle* sont des livres fort obscurs, et qui cheminent par la cime des montagnes : il ne s'y faut guère amuser. Lisez et relisez le *Combat Spirituel*; ce doit être votre cher livre, il est clair et tout praticable.”²

In January 1608, when he had himself nearly completed his own *Introduction to the Devout Life*, he speaks of the *Spiritual Combat* as a great book : “Oui, ma fille, le *Combat Spirituel* est un grand livre. Il y a quinze³ ans que je le porte dans ma pochette, et ne le lis jamais qu'il ne me profite.”⁴ In contrast with this expression “un grand livre,” in which he shows

¹ He would seem to refer here to the earlier part of chapter x. of the present enlarged edition of the *Spiritual Combat*, which corresponds with chapter v. of the edition of 1652, which probably represents the order of the edition of 1589 used by St. Francis. See Appendix on the edition of 1652, and notes to the text of chapter x.

² *Corr. Epist.* Let. cl. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 656.

³ This probably is equivalent to the expression “une quinzaine,” and is not therefore inconsistent with the “dix-huit ans” of the previous letter of July 1607.

⁴ *Corr. Epist.* Let. cliii. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 663.

his appreciation of the value of the *Spiritual Combat*, he speaks of his own *Introduction to the Devout Life*, in a letter to his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Vienne, as “ce pauvre petit livre.”¹ The object of St. Francis de Sales was to bring out by homely illustration in his “little” book the deep truths which he had found so helpful to himself in the “great” book of the *Spiritual Combat*. It was his own saintliness and his great knowledge of the life of the soul amid the trials and temptations of the world, which gives his “little” book a greatness all its own.

In the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, St. Francis gives the *Spiritual Combat* a place of honour among the devotional books which he recommends to the use of his spiritual friends. He lifts it above the level of the *Méthode*, the *Perfection*, and the *Perle*, and places it on a level with the spiritual works of St. Bonaventura, Gerson,² Dionysius the Carthusian, Louis of Blois, Luis de Granada, Stella, Avias, Pinelli, da Ponte, Avila, the Confessions of St. Augustine, and the Epistles of St. Jerome. They were to be read daily with great devotion, as if they were letters sent from the saints in heaven to show the way and give us the courage to walk in it: “Lisez-en tous les jours un peu avec grande devotion, comme si vous lisiez des lettres missives que les Saincts vous eussent envoyées

¹ *Corr. Epist. Let. clxxxvi.* Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 709. Cp. *Introduction to the Devout Life* (Methuen), p. lxxxiv.

² I.e. the *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis, frequently published under the name of Gerson.

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du Ciel pour vous montrer le chemin et vous donner le courage d'y aller.”¹

St. Francis in his spiritual letters after 1608 more frequently refers to the *Introduction* than to the *Spiritual Combat*, but he still recognises the value of the latter. In a letter to a lady in February 1612, he writes: “Relisez le *Combat Spirituel*, et faites une spéciale attention aux documents qui y sont: il vous sera fort à propos.”²

The Bishop of Belley in his *Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales*³ frequently refers to the *Spiritual Combat*. St. Francis said: “Que pour bien étudier, il ne fallait lire qu'un livre; ceux qui passent légèrement sur plusieurs ne faisant jamais étude qui vaille.”⁴ He added that it was well to make choice of some good book, and if it was possible, that it should be small and easy to carry. The Bishop says that the most common was the *Imitation*, a book which was “tout d'or, et au-dessus de toutes louanges.” St. Francis, however, preferred the *Spiritual Combat*: “Ce n'était pas pourtant celui que notre bienheureux conseillait le plus; mais le *Combat Spirituel*: c'était son cher livre, son favori. Il m'a dit plusieurs fois qu'il l'avait porté plus de dix-huit ans dans sa pochette,

¹ *Intr. à la Vie Devote*, Nouv. Ed. par M. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1860), Pt. ii. ch. xvii. *Cp.* Ed. Methuen, 1906, and notes.

² *Corr. Epist.* Let. cclxix. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 823.

³ Paris, 1641, 6 vols. in 8. Migne, Ouvr. Compl. de S. Franç. de Sales, T. ii. p. lvi.

⁴ *L'esprit*, iii. 12. Ed. Migne, T. ii. p. 135.

en lisant tous les jours quelque chapitre ou au moins quelque page.” The Bishop adds that those who read it attentively will easily recognise that “tout l'esprit de la dévotion de notre bienheureux Père, est tirée de ce livret.” This, he says, will be seen at once if the first chapter of the *Philothea*, i.e. the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, is compared with the first chapter of the *Spiritual Combat*. He concludes his remarks on the *Spiritual Combat* by giving his own appreciation of its value and by meeting the objections of its critics: “Notre Bienheureux conseillait la lecture de ce livre du *Combat Spirituel* à tous ses dévots, l'appelant tout aimable et tout praticable. Plus je le lis et plus j'y remarque, comme en sa semence, toute la doctrine spirituelle de ce Bienheureux; et il est certain que quiconque en charité, et par le motif de la charité, s'adonnera à la lecture et à la pratique de ce livret, arrivera à un haut degré de piété et de perfection chrétienne, sans s'embarrasser en tant d'autres lectures. Ceux qui s'imaginent (et j'en ai connu quelques-uns) que se livre est obscur, se forgent des ombres en plein midi, et ressemblent à ces Israélites qui eurent la manne à dégoût, parce qu'elle leur tombait du ciel avec trop de facilité et d'abondance.”¹ This comparison of the *Spiritual Combat* to the manna in the wilderness illustrates the deep appreciation of the book in the circle of St. Francis de Sales.

In another passage, speaking of distrust of self and trust in God as the foundation of the Christian warfare,

¹ *L'esprit*, iii. 12. Ed. Migne, p. 136.

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he calls the *Spiritual Combat* the *vade mecum* of St. Francis de Sales: “Le *Combat Spirituel*, qui était le cher livre et le *vade mecum* de notre bienheureux Père, met pour fondement de la milice intérieure et chrétienne, la défiance de soi-même et la confiance en Dieu. Sur ce sujet, je lui demandais un jour ce qu'il fallait faire pour arriver à une parfaite défiance de soi-même. Il me répondit: ‘Se confier parfaitement en Dieu.’”¹

The Bishop more than once refers to the affection shown by St. Francis for the *Spiritual Combat*: “Entre les livres de piété il recommandait principalement le *Combat Spirituel*, qu'il appelait son cher livre, et le disait être tout praticable.”² The more St. Francis read it, the more light he found in it: “Trois petits livrets de piété étaient dans son esprit, en une haute estime. Le premier était celui du *Combat Spirituel* duquel je vous ai tant parlé, mes Sœurs, qu'il vous a tant recommandé et qu'il recommandait avec beaucoup de soin à ses enfants; leur confessant à dessein, mais avec vérité, qu'il l'avait porté dix-sept ans durant dedans sa poche, en lisant presque tous les jours quelque chapitre, et toujours avec de nouvelles lumières.”³

The Bishop of Belley draws a comparison between the three books specially valued by St. Francis, the *Spiritual Combat*, the *Imitation*, and the *Méthode de*

¹ *L'esprit*, iii. 29. Ed. Migne, p. 160.

² *Ibid.* vi. 12. Ed. Migne, p. 364.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 7. Ed. Migne, p. 416.

servir Dieu,¹ and refers also to the *Abrégé de la perfection chrétienne*² and the *Perle évangélique*. He confesses that the *Abrégé* is obscure, and that he cannot understand the *Perle*, but he has a real appreciation of the *Méthode*, though he has some scruples, in so far differing from the judgment of his spiritual father, St. Francis. He says, speaking of the *Méthode*: “lequel, pour dire le vrai, a ravi mes inclinations et gagné mes affections. Notre Bienheureux ne l'estimait pas si clair ni si facile que le *Combat Spirituel*; mais c'est possible que s'étant consommé en la lecture de celui-ci, il ne voulait pas aller au change.” And again: “Mais ayant fait un plus long usage de celui de la *Méthode de servir Dieu*, je ne crains point de la vous recommander par ma propre expérience, et de vous promettre que vous trouverez une amiable clarté si vous la voulez lire avec l'attention requise. Après le jugement de préférence donné par notre bienheureux Père au *Combat Spirituel*, ce n'est pas à moi à en faire ici des comparaisons qui ne pourraient être de bonne grâce: je vous dirai seulement ce mot évangélique: Il est bon de lire l'un, mais il ne faut pas omettre ni négliger l'autre; ³ car je vous assure que vous trouverez beaucoup d'esprit et je dis de l'esprit de Dieu, sous l'écorce de la lettre de cet écrit-là.”⁴

In a further allusion to these three books he says:

¹ This, according to the Bishop, was the work of Alfonso of Madrid, a Spanish Observant.

² This is the work of the Jesuit Father Gagliardi.

³ 1 Cor. vii. 40.

⁴ *L'esprit*, vii. 7. Ed. Migne, pp. 417-418.

"Entre les livres il recommandait principalement le *Combat Spirituel*, qui étaït son précieux meuble, comme l'Homère à Alexandre."¹ The Bishop again gives the preference to the *Méthode*. In comparing true and false devotion, he also refers a second time to the close agreement there is in the treatment of the subject in the opening chapters of the *Philothea* and the *Spiritual Combat*.²

In another place he compares the book to a spring of living water welling up into eternity :³ "Nous vous avons quelquefois dit que le livre du *Combat Spirituel* était le cher livre de notre bienheureux, et que de là il avait, comme d'une source d'eau vive rejaillissante à l'éternité, puisé l'esprit dont il était porté en toutes ses actions."⁴ The Bishop also characterises the *Spiritual Combat* as "un excellent abrégé de la science de salut et de la doctrine du ciel."⁵ And once more, towards the close of his work, he refers to it as "son cher livre."⁶

Notwithstanding his preference for the *Méthode*, the Bishop of Belley showed his loyalty to St. Francis and his appreciation of the *Spiritual Combat* by regularly using it at night : "Le disciple docile et pieux suivit l'avis de son maître ; tous les jours il récita le saint Rosaire et ne manqua jamais de faire tous les soirs une

¹ *L'esprit*, ix. 20. Ed. Migne, p. 593.

² *Ibid.* xi. 6. Ed. Migne, p. 695.

³ *Cp.* St. John iv. 14.

⁴ *L'esprit*, xiv. 35. Ed. Migne, p. 954.

⁵ *Ibid.* xv. 30. Ed. Migne, p. 1014.

⁶ *Ibid.* xvi. 33. Ed. Migne, p. 1080.

lecture dans le *Combat Spirituel* ou dans l'*Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, qu'il recommandait à ses pénitents comme deux livres qu'on doit placer immédiatement après l'évangile.”¹

In addition to this testimony of St. Francis de Sales himself, and of his friend the Bishop of Belley, to the appreciation in which they held the *Spiritual Combat*, there is that of Pope Alexander VII. (1655-1667). The Papal Brief under the seal of the Fisherman was given by Alexander VII. on 28th December 1661.² In the following year the Pope sent a message to the General of the Theatines, F. Bozomo, in which he said that “in beatifying Francis de Sales, he had beatified a son of his congregation, since the holy Bishop of Geneva had derived his piety from the teaching of the *Spiritual Combat*. ”³

The Theatine authorship of the *Spiritual Combat* rests therefore not only on the authority of St. Francis de Sales and the Bishop of Belley, but on that of the highest in the Church, the authority of Pope Alexander VII.

¹ *Notice sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Jean-Pierre Camus, Évêque de Belley*, par Mgr. Depéry, Évêque de Gap. Ed. Migne, T. ii. p. xi.

² *Hist. de la Canonization de S. François de Sales*, par l'Abbé de Baudry. Ed. Migne, T. i. p. 1087.

³ Letter of F. Bozomo to the religious of his congregation, Rome, Feb. 22, 1662, quoted in French notice by F. de Tracy, Theatine, prefixed to French translation by De Brignon, 1818.—Note to Dr Pusey's edition (London, 1857), p. ix.

II

St. Francis de Sales is not only the earliest witness to the value of the *Spiritual Combat* as a guide to the spiritual life; he is also the earliest witness to its authorship. His friend, the Bishop of Belley, one day asked him who had been his director. He pulled out of his pocket the *Spiritual Combat*, and said : “Le voilà ; c'est celui qui avec Dieu m'enseigne dès ma jeunesse, c'est mon maître aux choses de l'esprit et de la vie intérieure.” He then went on to say that he had received it from a Theatine Father when he was at Padua, that it had been written by a member of the Theatine order, and that it held the same place among them that the Spiritual Exercises held among the Jesuits : “Depuis que j'étais écolier à Padoue, un Théatin me l'enseigna et me le conseilla ; j'ai suivi son avis et m'en suis bien trouvé. Il a été composé par un saint personnage de cette célèbre congrégation,¹ qui a cache

¹ The “Oratory of Divine Love” had been formed in Rome in the time of Leo X. (1513-1522). It was a private organisation, consisting of some fifty or sixty members, who met in the Church of St. Silvestro and Dorotea, in the Trastevere, for the “worship of God, for preaching, and the practice of spiritual exercises.” Among its members were Sadoleti, Ghiberti, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, and Gaetano da Tiene (Ranké, *Hist. of the Popes*, Bk. ii. ch. i. 1). The Theatine order of Clerks Regular grew out of this movement of spiritual reform. On 14th September 1524 Caraffa resigned the sees of Chieti (Teate) and Brindisi, and Gaetano the office of protonotary, and with his other friends

son nom particulier et l'a laissé courir sous le nom de sa compagnie, qui s'en sert en la manière presque dont les Jésuites se servent du livre des *Exercises* de leur bienheureux Ignace de Loyola.”¹ This statement is strong evidence that it was written by a member of the Theatine order, and disposes at once of the claim which has been made for Dom Juan de Castaniza, a Spanish Benedictine, and for Father Achille Gagliardi, a prominent Italian Jesuit, the author of the *Compendium perfectionis christianaæ* referred to by St. Francis amongst the obscure books of devotion.

The first edition of the *Spiritual Combat* was published in Venice by Giovanni and Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari. Scupoli was at this time residing at Venice, but his name does not appear on the title-page. The dedicatory letter is addressed by Count Girolamo di Porcia il vecchio to the nuns of St. Andrea at Venice. Count Girolamo di Porcia was the first to appreciate the value of the work. The little treatise had come who were also members of the oratory took the three vows, and formed an order of Clerks Regular, commonly known from the see of Caraffa, Theatines. They retired to a small house on the Pincian Hill, and there, “amidst the privations of their self-imposed poverty,” they devoted themselves “to spiritual exercises and the study of the Gospels.” They came “at length to be considered the order of priests peculiar to the nobility” (Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, Bk. ii. ch. i. 3). They were authorised under a constitution of Clement VII., dated “Sub annulo piscatoris,” June 24, 1524 (Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccles.* sub anno). This original constitution was confirmed by Paul III. in 1540 and Pius V. in 1568.

¹ *L'Esprit*, xiv. 16. Ed. Migne, p. 925.

under his notice, and had appeared to him to be a fitting aid to discipline and consolation: "Stando in pensiere di supplire al desiderio suo, e di quelle Religiose al bisogno, ed essendogli capitati alle mani alcuni Scritti interno alla mortificazione delle proprie passioni, gli era parso per consolazione ed ajuto loro di mandarli alle stampe e di dedicarli ad esse." This edition consists of twenty-four chapters, though by the repetition of the number eighteen there only appears to be twenty-three.¹

The second edition was published the same year by the Gioliti in Venice, with the dedication by Count Girolamo di Porcia. It was enlarged by the same author, "per molta istanza," with nine additional chapters. The title read: "Il Combattimento Spirituale ordinato da un servo di Dio."² It was this edition of thirty-three chapters which was given to St. Francis de Sales at Padua in 1589, and the twenty-eighth chapter of which he himself refers to in his letter to Madame de Chantal in July 1607.³

This second edition is the source of all the editions of the Shorter Recension which were published during the seventeenth century.

It was translated into German in 1590, and in 1591 was published the Latin version of the Carthusian Jodo-

¹ *Catalogo Cronologico*, Padua Ed. of 1750, with notes by Dom. G. Volpi. Cp. also Vezzosi, *Gli Scrittori Teatini*. Rome, 1780. 2 vols.

² Padua Ed. of 1750, p. xxiii. Cp. Vezzosi.

³ *Corr. Epist. Let. cxl.* Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 638.

cus Lorichius, with the title: "Pugna Spiritualis. Tractatus vere Aureus de Perfectione Vitæ Christianæ ab incognito, sed pio ac docto, viro, primum Italice scriptus, dein ab alio item incognito in Germanicam linguam versus, demum Latine redditus a Rev. P. Jodoco Lorichio, Carthusano, Friburgensi in Universitate S. Theologiæ Prof. Priori Carthusiæ S. Martini in Silva Nigra dicatus."¹ It was from this edition that the English translation of Father John Gerard was published in London in 1598, and in all probability the English version published at Douay in 1599. Its sole representative at the present time in the great English libraries is the English version of Robert Reade, printed at Paris in 1656. This interesting edition² represents chapter for chapter the edition of 1589, which was used for so many years by St. Francis de Sales.

The earliest editions in which the *Spiritual Combat* is attributed to the Theatine Fathers, are those of Milan in 1593 and Bergamo in 1594. In the dedication of the Bergamo edition Santo Milani writes: "È opera di uno de' RR. PP. Cherici Regolari Teatini."³ In the Milan edition the *Dolori Mentali di Cristo* appears for the first time with the *Spiritual Combat*. Santo Milani does not attribute them to the Theatine Fathers, but only states that they had been revised and

¹ *Catal. Cron.*, in Vezzosi.

² British Museum. Press-mark, 1121, d. 10. See Appendix i.

³ *Compendio della Dissertazione del P. D. Inn. Rafaello Savonarola, C.R.T.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxviii.

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corrected by them, having been printed more than a hundred years before at Naples.¹

In an edition printed at Piacenza in 1599 the book is said to have been printed in twenty of the principal cities of Italy, and to have been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, as well as into an Asiatic and an Indian language.²

The Longer Recension of the *Spiritual Combat* was first published at Naples in 1599 by Tarquinio Longo, at the instance of Enrico Bacco. It was dedicated by Enrico Bacco to Rutilio Gallicini, a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Naples. He had already printed many spiritual works, and hoped that the *Spiritual Combat*, now increased by many entire chapters, would be of value to all who used it: "Che se le altre opere a mia istanza stampate sono state di molto profitto, maggiormente spero in questo Combattimento Spirituale, tante, e tante volte stampato e ristampato nelle principali Città dell' Italia, coll' Aggiunta³ dello stesso Autore di molti Capitoli interi che nelli stampati non erano."⁴ These words of

¹ Padua Ed. of 1750, p. 239. Dom Gaetano Volpi discusses the authorship of the *Dolori*, and though he prints the Theatine Version (pp. 241-261), he gives the original version as revealed to the Blessed Battiste Varani, and published at Naples in 1490 and Milan in 1515 (pp. 333-367).

² *Catal. Cron.*, Vezzosi.

³ This "Aggiunta" or "Supplement" is not the present one, but the new chapters added to the edition of 1589. These additions correspond with the "explications" of 1652.

⁴ *Catal. Cron.*, cp. Vezzosi.

Enrico Bacco, "dello stesso Autore," prove, on the testimony of one who enjoyed the friendship of Scupoli, that the original text of the thirty-three chapters and the additions constituting the Longer Recension were both by the same author. And that this author was Scupoli appears also in this edition. For, although his name does not appear on the title-page, his Dedication of the book to Jesus Christ and his Notice to the Reader appear for the first time.¹ The dedication is signed. The notice contains the words: "Aggiunta al mio Combattimento Spirituale"; and in another place in the same edition he says: "Sono molti anni che io ho scritto l'Aggiunta al mio Combattimento Spirituale, che ora è stampato in più luoghi, e perchè è stato alterato in molti modi, che a me non piacciono, mi sono creduto in debito di espurgarlo . . . ricevilo adunque come Giunta al mio Combattimento Spirituale." No one who read these words would have ventured to dispute the authorship.² A second part appeared in the same year, 1599, containing a little work entitled: "Modo di apparecchiarsi agli assalti del nemico nel tempo della morte."³ In subsequent editions this forms the concluding chapters, lxii. to lxvi., the original conclusion being the last sections of chapter lxi.⁴

¹ In the edition published by D. Carlo di Palma this was referred to the Second Part, and more especially to the New Supplement of the edition of 1610.

² *Comp. del Dissert.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xli.

³ Vezzosi: note to this edition.

⁴ These reappear in the concluding sections of chapter xxxiii. in the interesting English edition of 1656.

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In the following year, 1600, in the edition printed at Florence by Filippo Giunti, the *Pathway of Paradise* appears for the first time. The title reads : “Sentier del Paradiso, per il quale con molta facilità si può arrivare alla vera Perfezione Cristiana. Ordinato da un inutil Servo di Gesù, per giovamento universale.”¹

Further evidence from the circle of Scupoli’s friends is that of Simone Perlasca, in the dedication of the Bologna edition of 1603. He writes : “Sebbene l’Autore per sua modestia non si nomina, si sa essere della Ven. Congregazione de’ Cherici Regolari Teatini, assai noti al Mondo.”²

An edition was printed at Rome in 1606 identical with the third Naples edition of 1603. It is thought that this was taken to Paris by D. S., the Doctor of the Sorbonne, and formed the basis of the French translation of 1608, which was made by D. S. and dedicated by him to St. Francis de Sales in the very year in which the *Introduction to the Devout Life* was published. D. S. ascribes it to the Clerks Regular of the Theatine order,³ and its dedication to St. Francis, combined with the statement of the Bishop of Belley, is still further evidence of the Theatine origin of the work.

The enlarged edition was printed at Venice by Bernardo Giunti and Giovambattista Ciotti in 1609. The title reads : “Combattimento Spirituale, ordinato

¹ Vezzosi : note to the edition of 1600.

² Comp. de Dissert. (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxviii.

³ Ibid. p. xxxviii.

da un Servo di Dio. In questa nuova impressione dell' istesso Autore ampliato. . . . Aggiuntovi il Combattimento in tempo della morte." Vezzosi adds that the chapters in this edition number sixty; and that the "Combattimento in tempo della morte" in the Aggiunta is the "Modo di consolare ed ajutare gl' Infermi a ben morire," in thirty-eight chapters.¹ This is therefore the first appearance of this treatise. This edition was used by Dom Carlo di Palma, C.R.T., in preparing the Roman edition of 1657, which he dedicated to Alexander VII. It is preserved in the Archives of St. Silvestro at Rome, with his notes, and with the sworn testimony of thirteen Theatines that it was the work of Scupoli, and that they were familiar with its use.² On the parchment covers are these words: "Correzione del Combattimento Spirituale fatta per la stampa di Roma, 1657. Con la fede di molti Padri vecchi, che fusse composto dal P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli della medesima Religione."³

The editions of 1610 are of great interest. Scupoli died at Naples, 28th November 1610. Nine months before his death, an edition was published at Naples with a dedicatory letter by Lazzaro Scorrigo, one of the intimate friends of Scupoli, addressed "a' Fratelli del Crucifisso in S. Paolo di Napoli," in which he says of the author that he was "uno de' PP. Teatini, nella cui casa fioriva il loro oratorio." A second part was

¹ Vezzosi: note to the edition of 1609.

² Padua Ed. of 1750, p. xlviii.

³ Vezzosi: note on edition of 1609.

printed by the same publishers, Giovambattista Gargani and Lucrezio Nucci,¹ with the title: "Nuova Aggiunta al Combattimento Spirituale dello stesso Autore, de' Padri Cherici Regolari detti Teatini." This is the present "Aggiunta" or "Supplement"; in this edition of 1610 it consisted of thirty-seven chapters.² There also appeared for the first time, "Il Modo di recitare la Corona della Madonna." This, according to Savonarola, was also printed in the Bologna and other editions: "Quam pulcherrimam opellam, Divinæ Scripturæ floribus mirabiliter innexam, ab Editione Neapolitana 1610, Bononiensi aliisque accepere." It was omitted in later additions. It consisted of five chapters.³

Within three weeks of his death at Naples, his name was published for the first time on the title-page of the edition printed at the instance of Simone Perlasca, by Bartolomeo Cocchi at Bologna. This is the final vindication of the authorship of Scupoli. The title reads: "Il Combattimento Spirituale di nuovo veduto, ed accresciuto dallo stesso Autore⁴ il P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli."⁵ In the dedicatory letter Perlasca expresses his pleasure in the privilege granted him to divulge the name: "Non avendo voluto per

¹ Volpi in the Padua Ed. of 1750 gives "Ottavio," but Vezzosi in his note corrects it to "Lucrezio."

² Vezzosi.

³ Volpi (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xlviii.

⁴ This must refer to the "Nuova Aggiunta" of the Naples Edition.

⁵ *Comp. del Dissert.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxix.

sua umiltà mentre viveva porvi il Nome, è piaciuto a Dio che a me toccasse di pubblicarlo ora che 'l gode siccome spero."¹ And on 30th December 1610 another issue of the same edition appeared at Bologna under the name of Scupoli, with a dedication by Carlo Manolesso to Isabella, Infanta of Savoy and Duchess of Modena, in which these words occur: "Fu ordinato questo Combattimento da un Eroe de' più illustri . . . cioè dal P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli, Cherico Regolare."² This heroism of humility appealed even to the ideas of the Court at Modena.

In the year 1615, the year in which at Douay the Latin edition of Lorichius was made to serve the purpose of the authorship of Castaniza, an edition was published at Palermo by Ambrosio Maja, Doctor of Theology, another friend of Scupoli's, with this statement: "Sebbene l'Autore, che è il P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli, ha voluto nelle prime impressioni," to withhold his name, "ha voluto nondimeno il Signore moltiplicargli dopo morte quell' onore."³ Vezzosi says if no other documentary evidence was forthcoming except this edition of Maja, it would be alone sufficient evidence to repudiate the claim of Castaniza.⁴

In the same year (1615) an edition was printed at Rome by order of P. Andrea Pescara Gastaldo, General of the Theatine order, who had been Scupoli's confessor at Naples, and had been present

¹ *Comp. del Dissert.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxix.

² *Ibid.* p. xxxix. ³ *Ibid.* p. xxxix.

⁴ Vezzosi: note to Palermo Ed. of 1615.

at his death, in which the work was definitely assigned to Lorenzo Scupoli, with the authentic seal of his Congregation. The writer of the *Compendio* adds: "Le quale cose tutte formano una dimostrazione la più fondata, e più valida che imaginar si possa."¹

The *Spiritual Combat* was recognised as the work of Scupoli in the countries north of the Alps by the influence of Fabio Chigi, afterwards Alexander VII., and Anne of Austria, the widow of Louis XIII. and Queen-regent of France on his death in 1643. An edition was published at Cologne in 1643 at the instance of Fabio Chigi, the Apostolic Nuncio, which contained the *Directorum*² of Francis de Sales, the *Compendium Perfectionis* of Achilleo Gagliardi, and the *Spiritual Combat*, each with its own author's name: "suo cuique apposito nomine."³ In 1648 a French version by G. D. M., based on an edition of Gioliti, was dedicated to Anne of Austria.⁴ In 1649 an edition was published at Rome by Dragon-delli and dedicated to the Cardinal Fabio Chigi; and another edition at Rome was dedicated to him in 1655. In 1657 the edition of P. D. Carlo di Palma, C.R., which may almost be termed the definitive edition, was published at Rome in two parts, and dedicated by "P. Dom Francesco Carafa, Preposito Generale de' Cherici Regolari," to Pope Alex-

¹ *Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xl.

² The *Directoire Spirituel* is dated 1616: *Oeuv. S. Fr. Migne*, T. v. p. 149.

³ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. li.

ander VII. In 1658 a French version by P. D. Olympio Masotti was published at Paris. Masotti was the first apologist on behalf of Scupoli against the arguments of the Fogliantini and Argaiz.¹ In 1658 an Italian edition was published in Paris with a portrait of Scupoli, with these verses:

“Ora vides Scupoli pulchre spirantia ; mentem
Si cupis egregium cernere, Scripta lege.”

It was dedicated by Masotti to Anne of Austria. Another edition of the French version was issued by the Royal Press, and dedicated by Masotti to Anne of Austria. In 1659 another Italian edition was printed in two parts, the first of which was dedicated to Alexander VII. In the same year another Paris edition was dedicated to Cardinal Mazzarin.

The noble folio edition of 1660 was printed by order of Anne of Austria, and dedicated to Alexander VII. The title reads: “Combattimento Spirituale del P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli de’ Cherici Regolari, detti volgarmente Teatini. In Parigi, nella Stamperia Reale, 1660.” The dedication is signed by Dom Francesco Carafa. It refers to the veneration shown by Alexander VII. for the memory of Francis de Sales:² “Aggiungasi lo speciale affetto, ch’ ella

¹ Vezzosi : note to Paris Ed. of 1658.

² The Brief of the Beatification of Francis de Sales by Alexander VII. is dated 28th December 1665. His Canonisation took place 19th April 1665. Alexander VII. died 22nd May 1667.

porta alla venerabile memoria di Francesco di Sales, il quale havendo sommamente a cuore, e fra le sue più care e preiose delicie questo Spiritual Combattimento col suo continuo uso, col frutto, che ne trasse, con lo spesso approvarlo, e commendarlo, venne ad aumentargli grandemente la riputatione, e la fama. Laonde fermamente mi persuado, che la Santità Vostra, che tanto pregia la virtù, e 'l nome di quel grand' Huomo, si degnarà per rispetto suo di ricevere in grado e honorar con l'usata grandezza d'animo questo picciol Libro, il quale quand' altro beneficio non havesse recato al mondo, che d'havere ammaestrato lo spirito, e perfectionata la virtù di Francesco di Sales, si sarebbe egli meritevole della humanità, e protettione di Vostra Santità." The Pope recognised the truth of this plea in his letter to P. Dom Bozomo, the General of the Theatines, in 1662, when he said: "In beatifying Francis de Sales he had beatified a son of his Congregation." A copy of this edition was sent by Anne of Austria to every Theatine house throughout the world.¹ An identical edition was issued from the Royal Press at Paris the same year, dedicated to Anne of Austria.

The majority of editions subsequent to this period were issued under the name of Lorenzo Scupoli. But in consequence of the widespread influence of the edition of the Jesuit Father Jean Brignon, who pub-

¹ This edition contains the "Combattimento Spirituale" in sixty-six chapters, the "Sentiero del Paradiso" in fifteen chapters, and the "Dolori Mentali."

lished a French translation at Paris in 1688 in which he left the authorship an open question, a French version was published at Paris by Dom du Buc, C.R., in 1696 in which he vindicated the authorship of Scupoli. It was dedicated to the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Noailles.¹ In 1701 an edition was published at Parma with a dissertation by P. D. Francesco Barattieri² on the true author of the *Spiritual Combat*. In 1724 there appeared the first of the editions of Dom Gaetano Volpi, C.R., based upon the Paris edition of 1660 and the Roman edition of 1657. It was dedicated "al glorioso Patriarcho S. Gaetano Tiene, Fondatore de' Cherici Regolari Teatini." This edition was printed at Padua by Giuseppe Comino. It was reprinted at Padua by Comino in 1737.

The third edition published by Giuseppe Comino at Padua in 1750, is the most complete of the late editions of the works of Scupoli. The title reads: "Il Combattimento Spirituale del V. P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli da Otranto, Cher. Reg. Teatino; riscontrato, e corretto con somma diligenza e fede su l'Edizione di Parigi, fatta nella Regia Stamperia, l'anno 1660. S'aggiungono le altre operette spirituali del suddetto Autore, anch' esse molto più emendate del solito. Edizione iii. con . . . Giunte ed Illustrazioni . . . in Padua, 1750, appresso Giuseppe Comino con licenza de' Superiori" (p. i.). The opening letter is addressed: "D. Gaetano Volpi,

¹ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. lxi.

² The name does not appear attached to the dissertation. Volpi: note in Padua Ed., p. lxii.

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Sacerdote Padovano al Divoto Leggitore di questa
iii. Edizione." In this letter he refers to the work
entitled : "Dissertatio Historico-Apologetico-Critica
de aureo Libro cui titulus : Combattimento Spirituale :
Veronæ, typis Jacobi Vallarsi, 1747, in-12" : and says
that the arguments adduced in favour of the authorship
are so strong "che pare impossibile potersi trovare chi
ancor si azzardi a volerli impugnare." He also refers
to the *Catalogo Cronologico* drawn up by P. D.
Innocenzo Rafaello Savonarola, "nobile Padovano, e
Ch. Reg. Teatino," whose death he laments, "con
gravo mio dolore per esser stato sempre mio amorevolis-
simò Padrone." He also explains why the *Dolori
Mentali* was printed among the works of Scupoli ;
although written by the Blessed Varani, it had been
revised and corrected "da' PP. Teatini e (aggiungo
io) molto probabilmente dallo stesso P. Scupoli"
(pp. iii.-viii.). Then follows the dedication to
S. Gaetano Tiene, in which he characterises the
Spiritual Combat, "come d'Arsenale d'armi sceltis-
sime," as an arsenal of the choicest weapons (pp.
ix.-xiii.). After this dedication is the letter "al
Cristiano e Divoto Lettore," which had appeared in
the previous editions of 1724 and 1737. In this he
refers to the Pyrrhonism of the age, which leads so
many to call in question things which are most certain
and most established : "A noi sommamente dispiace un
certo Pirronismo, proprio del corrente secolo, col quale
da molti si vogliono porre in dubio e in quistione le
cose più certe e più stabilitate . . . Sette Città gareg-

giarono anticamente per attenere il vanto d'essere stimate la patria del massimo Poeta Omero." He then refers to the edition of Parma of 1701, which, notwithstanding its faults, had contained a complete vindication of the authorship of Scupoli. "Abbiamo in primo luogo fedelmente seguito il Testo della sontuosa Edizione Parigina, fatta nella Stamperia Reale, l'anno 1660, e tratta con somma cura da quella di Roma del 1657, ch' è la più essatta e compita di tutti. Questo raro Libro . . . contiene, oltre il Combattimento Spirituale anche il Sentiero del Paradiso, e i Dolori . . . l'Aggiunta poi al Combattimento, e il modo di consolare . . . morire." He had also consulted the Roman edition of Ignazio de' Lazzeri of 1665, and had revised the last treatise, which was the most faulty of all, by making it "più facile in avvenire a leggersi e ad intendersi, con un ragionevole collocamento de' punti e colla debita distinzione de' membretti" (pp. xiv.-xxi.). The "Compendio della Dissertazione" extends over twenty pages (pp. xxii.-xlvi.), and is followed by the "Catalogo Chronologico" (xlvi.-lxv.). Then comes the "Breve Notizia della Vita," taken from the *Istorie de' Cherici Regolari*, Lib. vi. P. ii. (pp. lxvi.-lxviii.), and the Letter of Approbation, beginning "Noi Riformatori dello Studio di Padova" (p. lxix.).

The title-page of the *Spiritual Combat* occupies p. 1; p. 2 is blank. The dedication, "Al supremo Capitano," occupies pp. 3-5; on p. 6 is the text: "Vos hodie . . . de periculo" (Deut. xx. 3-4). The text of the *Spiritual Combat*, in sixty-six chapters,

extends from p. 7 to p. 162. On p. 163 is the title of "La Seconda Parte dell' Opere," with their names, "i. Aggiunta, ii. della Pace, iii. de' Dolori, iv. del Modo di Consolare. Padova, 1749. Giuseppe Comino." Page 164 is blank. The letter of Dom Carlo di Palma, "Al Divoto Lettore," occupies pp. 165-166. It alludes to the witness of the Palermo edition of 1615. He believes that the second part corresponds to the execution of the design which Scupoli had before he died of issuing another small volume of spiritual treatises, as indeed was promised to the reader in the Naples edition of 1610. He defends the publication of the Supplement, notwithstanding its similarity to the *Spiritual Combat*. The letter ends: "Prega per me, Roma 20 Gennaro, 1657. D. Carlo di Palma, Cher. Reg."

On p. 167 is the authority for the printing of the second part in 1657: "D. Fr. Carafa, Præp. Gen. Congreg. Cher. Reg.—Hoc opus inscriptum, La Seconda Parte . . . Reg. cum ab aliquibus Nostræ Congregationis Theologis, quibus id commisimus, recognitum, et approbatum fuerit; et typis mandetur . . . concedimus. Datum Romæ in Aed. nost. S. Sylvestri, montis Qui., 19 Martii 1657. D. Fr. Carafa, Præp. Gen. Cler. Regul." It is countersigned by "Dom Jacobus Sottani, Cler. Reg. Secretarius." On p. 168 is Scupoli's address, "A chi legge," from the edition of 1599. In that edition it refers to the additional chapters of the *Spiritual Combat*. In this edition, on the authority of D. Carlo di Palma, it is referred to the second part,

and more especially to the “Nuova Aggiunta” of the edition of 1610. The “Aggiunta,” in thirty-eight chapters, extends from p. 169 to p. 208; the treatise “della Pace Interiore ovvero Sentiero del Paradiso,” in fifteen chapters, from p. 205 to p. 238. On pp. 239 and 240 is an “Avviso al Lettore” on the “Dolori Mentali,” in which the words of Santo Milani are quoted as proof that they were not ascribed by him to Scupoli in 1593 and 1594, but only printed by him as revised and corrected by the Theatine Fathers. The “Dolori Mentali” are printed on pp. 241-261. P. 262 is blank. The “Modo di Consolare,” in thirty-seven chapters, extends from p. 265 to p. 319. P. 320 is blank. The “Tavole” of the five separate Treatises are printed on pp. 321-331. The original text of the “Dolori Mentali” of the Blessed Battista Varani, with a brief notice of her life, a dedication “alla molto Rev. Madre Suor M. Crist. Volpi,” and two letters of the Blessed Varani, occupy pp. 335-368. The colophon is on p. 368: “In Padova, 1750, appresso Giuseppe Comino.”

This edition is the most important authority for the works of Lorenzo Scupoli.¹

III

The authorship of the *Spiritual Combat* was first disputed in the Paris edition of 1595. This, the

¹ The press-mark of this edition in the British Museum Library is 224, h. 7.

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first French translation, was brought out under the authority of the Congregation of the Feuillants¹ of S. Germain, in S. Honoré, at Paris.² The work was ascribed to Count Girolamo di Porcia il vecchio. It is impossible to think too highly of the great service rendered by him to the Church by sending the *Spiritual Combat* to the press. He it is who first appreciated the spiritual value of the work, and by overcoming the humility of Scupoli was privileged to send it to the press at Venice. He, in fact, disclaims the authorship. In the first edition of twenty-four chapters he only says that the papers had fallen to his hands, and that as they appeared to him to be a valuable aid to consolation and the mortification of the passions, he had sent them to the press and dedicated them to the nuns of S. Andrea at Venice. In the second edition of thirty-three chapters he carefully distinguishes the author from the person who sent them to the press: “Essendo questo Trattatello del Combattimento Spirituale stato composto dallo Autore, non per farlo vedere agli occhi del mondo, ma per compiacimento di alcune pie menti che lo ricercarano, pervenne poi in mano di Persona che il diede alle stampe; e dovendosi ora per molta istanza che da più parti è stata fatta, ristampare, vi sono state dallo stesso Autore a prieghi altrui, aggiunte alcune coselle, che

¹ This order was a Reform of the Cistercians.

² “i Cisterciensi, Reformati Scalzi, detti i Fogliantini, del Borgo di S. Germano in Sant’ Onorato di Parigi.”—*Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxiv.

serviranno di gioamento e consolazione ad ogni persona Spirituale.”¹ In this dedication to the second edition of 1589, it is clear that the work was not originally meant for publication, but for the help of those who were seeking counsel. It is also probable that it was at the request of Count Girolamo di Porcia and others—“a prieghi altrui”—that the author was encouraged to enlarge his work. The encouragement given to Scupoli, the appreciation shown for his work, may indeed be ascribed to Girolamo di Porcia: the work itself cannot be ascribed to him. The words of the dedication sufficiently refute the idea of the Feuillant monks. This was recognised by the Professor of the Sorbonne, D. S., the friend of St. Francis de Sales, who was stopping with him at Paris when he was preparing the French Version which was published in 1608.² He says in his preface: “Li Padri Fogliantini, vedendo che il Conte di Porcia ha dirizzato questo Combattimento alle Religiose . . . a lui lo hanno attribuito nel titolo della loro traduzione; il che, a mio parere, è loro scappato della penna, per non aver letta bene la Lettera Dedicatoria dell’ originale Italiano, il quale, non vi ha dubbio, è sottoscritto dal Conte di Porcia, che dice di essergli venuto alle mani; ma non perciò se ne fa conoscere per Autore.”³ The mistake was recognised, and the Theatine authorship was acknowledged in 1624

¹ *Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxv.

² *Ibid.* p. xxv.

³ *Ibid.* p. xxvi.

by the General of the Feuillant order, F. Giovanni di St. Francesco, who in his life of St. Francis de Sales says: "Essendo capitata alle mani del nostro Santo la piccola, ma excellente, opera del Combattimento Spirituale, di cui li PP. Teatini sono gli Autori, egli la prese. . . ." ¹ The name of Count Girolamo di Porcia appeared on the title-page of the Piacenza edition of 1599: "Combattimento Spirituale, ordinato da un Servo di Dio, dato in luce dal Conte Girolamo di Porcia"; but after the edition of 1595 he does not ever appear as the author of the *Spiritual Combat*.

The authorship of the work was ascribed in the early years of the seventeenth century to Juan de Castaniza, a Spanish Benedictine. This claim has been put forward anew in Canon Vaughan's reprint of the *Spiritual Conflict and Conquest* of 1652, published at the suggestion of Bishop Ullathorne in 1874. By the republication of this edition ² the name of Juan de Castaniza is now associated with the *Spiritual Combat* by English Catholics both in England and America. The claim is not generally accepted, for the same publishers have issued the *Spiritual Combat*, with the additional treatises trans-

¹ *Vita di S. Fr. di Sales*, 1624, Lib. i. *Cp. Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxvi.

² Juan de Castaniza, *The Spiritual Conflict and Conquest* . . . Edited with preface and notes by . . . Jerome Vaughan. . . . Reprinted from the old English translation of 1652. Third edition. Burns & Oates, London; Benziger Bros., New York, 1903, 8vo.

lated from the Italian, under the name of Lorenzo Scupoli.¹

The claim was first put forward by the English Benedictines of Douay in their Latin edition of 1612. This is described as a version made after the copy of Juan de Castaniza, who being prevented by death was not able to complete it: "Editio Latina per Monachos Anglos Benedictinos juxta exemplar Johannis Castaniza, qui eam perficere morte præventus minime potuit."² Castaniza died in 1599 at Salamanca. Among his papers, which were taken after his death to the monastery of Oña, was found a MS. copy of the *Spiritual Combat* in Latin, in an unfinished state.³ This MS. was believed by P. D. Gregorio Argaiz, of the same order, to have been an original work of Castaniza, and was referred to as such in his *Soledad Laureada*.⁴ Argaiz in this work speaks of the *Spiritual Combat* as being translated into Italian, then into French, then into Spanish, and afterwards published by the Spanish Benedictines in Flanders with the addition of certain chapters by Lorenzo Scupoli.⁵ The critical acumen of Dom Argaiz was not of a high order. In the

¹ Burns & Oates, London, 1904, 8vo: a smaller edition was issued in 1906.

² *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xl ix.

³ Vezzosi: note on ed. of 1612. *Cp. Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxviii.

⁴ Tom. vi. c. 69, p. 503.

⁵ Vezzosi: note to edition of 1612.

judgment of Cardinal Aguirre he was a writer "troppo simplice."¹

It is difficult to deny altogether the existence of this MS., though it is not necessary to deduce from its discovery the claim of Juan de Castaniza to be the author of the *Spiritual Combat*. The second edition, in thirty-three chapters, was published at Venice in 1589. A German version was published as early as 1590. Castaniza died on St. Luke's Day, 18th October 1599. He would, therefore, have had ample time to make a translation into Latin for the use of the Spanish Benedictines before his death. This at least is all that, in view of the evidence of the Italian editions, can be said to be his claim to be associated with the work. Two editions of the *Spiritual Combat* appeared in Spain before the edition of Douay in 1612. One, perhaps a Spanish version, "Col titolo d'un certo Religioso," which points to the original title, "Ordinato da un Servo di Dio," was published at Barcelona at the instance of Dr Franc. Droguetto in 1608. Another, a new translation into Spanish by Luis de Vera, Secretary to Ettore Pignatelli, Viceroy of Catalonia, was published at Barcelona in 1609. It was based upon the edition of Naples, and ascribed to the Theatine Fathers.

¹ This judgment is quoted by Vezzosi from the article "Argaiz" in the *Bibliot. Critica* of P. Michele a S. Joseph. Argaiz ascribed the *Imitation* to Gerson, and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola to Cisneros, both of them of the Benedictine order. *Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxviii.

The English Benedictines of Douay printed another edition in 1615, the title-page of which not only shows their dependence on earlier editions, but also betrays the extent of their error. It reads : “Pugna spiritualis. Tractatus vere Aureus, olim Hispanice e R. P. D. Joanne Castaniza editus, postea Italice, Germanice, ac tandem redditus Latine a R. D. Jodoco Lorichio. Editio novissima ad exemplar Hispanicum castigata et aucta.”¹ This title is based upon the title-page of the Latin edition of 1591 : “Pugna spiritualis. Tractatus vere Aureus de Perfectione Vitæ Christianæ ab incognito, sed pio ac docto, Viro, primum Italice scriptus, dein ab alio item incognito in Germanicam lingam versus, demum Latine redditus a Rev. P. Jodoco Lorichio, etc.”² The “postea Italice” of the English Benedictine title-page of 1615 is altogether at variance with the “primum Italice scriptus” of the title-page of 1591. The earlier testimony of the edition of 1591 is certainly of more weight than that of the title-page of 1615. This discrepancy has not been explained by the modern apologists of the claim of Castaniza. The edition of 1615 consists of sixty chapters.

In 1644 there appeared in Paris an edition described as “Versio Latina Lorichii juxta exemplar Duacense Monachorum Benedictinorum, 1612.” This edition of 1612 was thought by Nicolaus Antonius, in his *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, to have been the first Latin

¹ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xlvii.

² *Ibid.* p. xliv.

edition of Lorichius.¹ It would appear from this that the Douay edition of 1612 was based upon the Latin edition of Lorichius of 1591, in the Shorter Recension.

It appears from the third English edition of Father Gerard, printed at Rouen in 1613, that an English version was published at Douay in 1599.² This, like Father Gerard's edition of 1598, must have been the Shorter Recension in thirty-three chapters. It is the first edition of the *Spiritual Combat* known to have been printed at Douay. In 1606 an edition appeared at Douay, described as "Versio Latina ex Anglica."³ This again must have been the Shorter Recension. The Latin version of 1612, based on that of Lorichius, would take the place of the Latin version of 1606. It is important to note that the Latin version of Lorichius was printed at Cologne in 1606. This may have come to the knowledge of the Douay Benedictines after they had published their Latin version from the English. In 1609 the Latin version of Lorichius was again published at Freiburg, in Breisgau. Was this a new edition based upon the Venice edition of 1609 in sixty chapters? If so, this may have been the source of the Douay edition of 1615 in sixty chapters. In any case, it seems almost certain that the so-called original text of Castaniza is to be traced to the Latin version of Lorichius. The claim was not generally upheld by the Benedictines. The edition in the Illyrian-Polish dialect in 1685, by P. Dom Adeodatus

¹ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. li.

² *Ibid.* p. xlvi. ³ *Ibid.* p. xlvii.

Niersevich, was translated from the Italian and issued so under the name of Lorenzo Scupoli.¹

The most elaborate treatment of the Castaniza version is that of the English edition of 1652.² It contains forty chapters, and the so-called text of Castaniza is carefully distinguished from the “explications” or additions, which are attributed to the Theatine Fathers. In the “Advertisement to the devout Reader” it is styled a “golden Tract,” after the “Tractatus vere Aureus” of Lorichius. The new translation is compared with an English version printed at Louvain in 1598,³ and “transplanted into this Island out of the gardens of certain Italian manuscripts.” When compared “with their original Spanish, or else with the Latin pattern,”⁴ the new version will be found, “though not the better, yet to be the far truer Translation.” The writer continues: “For besides very many and materiall differences, the 33rd *Chapter* is

¹ *Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxii.

² It was published as an introduction to a treatise called the “Spiritual Conquest,” under a common title-page: “The Christian Pilgrime in his Spirituall Conflict and Conquest. At Paris, MDCLII.” The second title of the edition in the British Museum, and of a copy in the writer’s possession, without the “Spiritual Conquest,” has: “The Spiritual Conflict. . . . The Second Edition . . . At Paris, MDCLII.” The first edition has not been traced. *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xlvi.

³ In 1598 the first English version, by Father Gerard, was printed at London.

⁴ The margin reads: “Printed at Doway in the year 1612, and reprinted at Wittenberg, 1641.”

in that edition altogether foreign to this author's work ; and the *six* last *Chapters* (which are most excellent and usefull branches of this little tree) are absolutely lopp'd off, and (as it seems) purposely skipp'd over ; the conclusion being in each of them one and the same."

These six chapters¹ must bear the whole weight of the Douay theory. According to the writer of the "Advertisement," they were "absolutely lopped off," "purposely skipped over" in the English edition of 1598. They are therefore regarded by him as an integral part of the original treatise, represented by him as the "text" of Castaniza. They must therefore stand the test of criticism. They challenge the up-holders of the authorship of Scupoli ; and they altogether fail to support the Douay theory. Chapter xxxv. : "Some short Observations concerning Meditation," are based on the method of *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola. They are quite foreign to the simpler and less systematic method of meditation set forth in chapter xlvi. and chapter xlvii. of the *Spiritual Combat*. Chapter xxxvi. : "An Exercise before the Sacred Communion," and chapter xxxviii. : "An Exercise after the Holy Communion," are also based upon the same system of meditation. They form an introduction and a conclusion to chapter xxxvii. : "How we may devoutly offer up the Sacrifice of the Mass," a chapter intended for the use of the priesthood, and in no way in harmony with the plan of the original

¹ Chapters xxxiv.-xxxix. of the edition of 1652. They may be seen in Canon Vaughan's reprint of 1874, pp. 198-216.

treatise. So far, indeed, from these chapters having ever been lopped off, they have all the appearance of having been at some time added on. They are in no way in accord either with the original text or with the "explications" or additions of 1652. And is it likely that Father Gerard, a Jesuit, in 1598 would have lopped off chapters which show the influence of the Ignatian exercises if they had been an integral part of the text he used, that is, the Shorter Recension of 1589? It is unfortunate that this "advertisement" has not been prefixed to the reprint of the edition of 1652. These six chapters are at once the strength and the weakness of the Douay position.¹

An English translation was printed at Paris in 1656. It was made by Robert Reade, and is independent of the edition of 1652. He does not seem to have known of this edition. He says: "I have heard that it has bene seene in English above forty years since.² And although I am no eye-witnesse of it, yet I make no difficulty to beleeve it, because it being now visible in Spanish, Latin, Italian, Dutch, and French, in all probability it could not escape our tongue; but I beleeve tyme and persecution may have so worne it out as that it may be new to this age."³ He claims to

¹ This edition is further referred to in the notes and the Appendix. It is an important aid in distinguishing the text of the Shorter Recension.

² The reference is probably to the third edition of Gerard's version, printed at Rouen in 1613.

³ The letter dedicatory to the most Honourable and most Reverend M. Walter Mountagu, most worthy Abbot of S. Martin of Ponthoise.

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bring out the treatise in its original purity: "But I may safely assure upon the credit of two pious persons who have lately publish't it, the one in Italian, and the other in French¹ (both which I have followed here in), that in this edition all those Additions and Paraphrases are omitted, and the Treatise reduced to its originall purity." In the "Preface to the Catholiques of England" he refers to "a new edition of the 'Introduction to a Devout Life' composed by B.² Francis di Sales 'issued' not long since,"³ and adds: "That devout worke may well be call'd the worthy daughter of this so worthy a mother." He then chivalrously defends the authorship of Castaniza: "The author of this profitable worke is unknowne, and I am sure what I can say will not much contribute to his discovery: yet because that pious person who hath lately translated this treatise into French, seemes to satisfy himself that it came originally out of Italy,⁴ I could not forbear to doe that right to Spaine, as to say that in my poore opinion we are oblig'd to that king-

¹ The metrical version in French, by Jean Desmaretz, was published at Paris in 1655. It was reduced to thirty-one chapters by the omission of chapters xxiv.-xxvii. (ed. of 1656), on Meditation, and the division of chapters xxviii. and xxxiii. See Appendix.

² This before his formal Beatification, 28th December 1661.

³ Probably the Paris edition of 1648, translated by the Tournay priests.

⁴ There was also a new French version by a Carthusian, Sigismundus a S. Bernardo Pedemontanus, published at Paris in folio in 1654, ascribed to Lorenzo Scupoli.

dome for it. For I have at present by mee a translation of the same worke in Latine,¹ which declares it to have bene written in Spanish by the Reverend Father John Castaniza, Benedictine Monke, Monasterii Onniensis: and I am certain to have seene in the handes of a Gentleman of our Nation not many years since the same treatise in Spanish, naming the same Castaniza for its Author. And though this be not sufficient prooфе, upon which to passe a definitive sentence, yet it seemes more to me than I have seene sayd for Italy."

It was under the name of Castaniza that the *Spiritual Combat* became known to English Churchmen at the end of the seventeenth century. It was "translated from the French, with some Additions"; and was "revised and recommended by the Reverend Richard Lucas, D.D., Rector of St. Katharine, Coleman Street." The title-page was suggested by that of the edition of 1652: "The Spiritual Combat: or the Christian Pilgrim in his spiritual Conflict and Conquest: by John de Castaniza." It was published in "London: printed for Samuel Keble, at the Turk's Head in Fleet Street, 1698."² In the preface the authorship is referred to in these words: "The author whereof is generally thought to be one Juan de

¹ Probably the Shorter Recension of Lorichius. *Juxta exemplar Duacense Monachorum Benedictinorum*, 1612, published at Paris in 1644.

² A second edition was published in 1710. Dr Lucas was then Rector of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street.

Castaniza, a devout Spaniard, who lived about a hundred years since. . . . There are some things added by other pious men, who in the last of our English editions, took the pains to clear up and explain several places in the text.” The writer of these words thus clearly refers to the work of the Douay Benedictines, in the distinction they drew between the text and the “*explication.*”

It was under the authorship of Castaniza that the work was known to Bishop Wilson. In his note on “*Spiritual Communion*”¹ he says: “We do not want examples to recommend this spiritual communion. The learned and pious Bishop Taylor, the worthy and ingenious author of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*, the devout author of the *Spiritual Combat*, etc., have proposed some such help as this for the use and comfort of those devout souls who are deprived of the Holy Sacrament in the Church.”² The “devout author” of Bishop Wilson’s note is an allusion to the “devout Spaniard” of the preface in Dr Lucas’s edition of 1678.

The only other claim made to the authorship of the *Spiritual Combat* was put forth on behalf of F. Achille Gagliardi, a Jesuit, and a contemporary of S. Carlo Borromeo, in an edition published at Coni, in Piedmont, in 1668.³ The first reference to it is in the *Erotetmata de malis et bonis libris* of F. Theophilus Ray-

¹ Library Angl. Cath. Theology. Bp. Wilson’s Works, vol. iv. p. 419.

² The reference is to chapter xxxix. of the edition of 1678, which is based upon chapter xxxi. of the edition of 1652.

³ Cat. cron. (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. lvii.

naudus published posthumously in vol. xi. of the edition of his works printed at Lyons in 1665.¹ Gagliardi was the author of the *Compendium Perfectionis Christianæ*, and his authorship is stated in the first paragraph on the disputed works of Gagliardi. The writer then adds: “Ejusdem est opella cui titulus, *Certamen Spirituale*,² quam Gallice aliquoties versam, varii supposuere variis; unus quidam piæ virginis adscripsit, alii aliis.” Of the twenty-seven editions published in France during the ten years 1655-1665 at least twenty appeared under the name of Lorenzo Scupoli, the authorship being supported by the arguments of Masotti, and by the authority of Alexander VII. and Anne of Austria. It was the era in which the authorship of Scupoli was finally established. Against this weight of testimony the writer in this edition of the *Erotemata*⁴ places the authority of a single Theatine Father and a Sacristan: “Sed vere esse fœtum genuinum Achillis confirmabat D. Benedictus Ruys ad S. Nicetum non ita primam æditimus, ex testimonio Patris cujusdem Theatini, a quo asserebat monstratum sibi esse Autographum ipsius

¹ Opera Th. Raynaudi. *Erotemata*, Pt. i. *Erot.* x. 2, p. 267.

² The Munich editions of the Latin version of Meazza were published under the title of “*Certamen Spirituale*.” These, however, appeared under the name of Scupoli.

³ Is this a reference to the authorship of the *Dolori Mentali*?

⁴ This passage is not generally thought to be by the hand of Fr. Raynaudus.

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Achillis manu exaratum, et ejus adscriptione munitum,
in attexta opellæ isti Epistola ad quendam Clericum
Regularem qui ab eo proposuerat non nullam in via
spiritus instructionem."

The claim has never been taken seriously. The witness of St. Francis de Sales is alone sufficient to refute it: "La Méthode, la Perfection (i.e. the "Compendium" of Gagliardi), la Perle sont des Livres fort obscurs, et qui cheminent par la cime des montagnes. . . . Lisez et relisez le *Combat Spirituel* . . . il est clair et tout praticable."¹ The work of Gagliardi is obscure; the work of Scupoli is clear. The theory has never received any support from the great Jesuit writers;² nor does Father Gerard, the first English translator, make any mention of its Jesuit origin. Indeed its treatment of the subject of meditation is almost enough to refute the theory. On the other hand, the Jesuits have given ample testimony to its real authorship. P. Pedro Ortez Moncada, a Spanish Jesuit, in a treatise, *De la Communion Espiritual*,³ refers to the *Spiritual Combat* as the work of Scupoli. And P. Tomás Sanchez, a theologian of the Jesuit College of Madrid, in an introductory notice to the Spanish version of 1673, says: "I have seen

¹ St. Francis de Sales, *Corr. Epist. Let. cl.* Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 656.

² The silence of Possevino, of Ribadineira, of Alegambe, of Bartoli, and others is mentioned by the writer of the *Dissertation* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxiv.

³ Madrid, 1695: quoted in the *Comp. del Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxvi.

the *Spiritual Combat*, written by P. D. Lorenzo Scupoli, of the Clerks Regular of S. Gaetano, and I thank God that this treasure, so famous in all languages and nations, should at last reach ours.”¹

The writer in the *Erotemata* gives perhaps the clue to the origin of his theory in the charge of Jansenism he lays against the additions to the *Spiritual Combat*: “Dolendum verò est eam lucubrationem interpretatione vernaculo politiore, recens emissam, interpolatam esse ac male fermentatam damnatis Jansenii Ypensis erroribus.” This reference to the Jansenism of some recently printed edition may have been the indirect origin of the theory of its Jesuit authorship. The edition of Coni in 1668 refers to the theory set forth in the posthumous *Erotemata* of 1665; and the story is repeated in the Lucca edition of 1690.

The French version by the Jesuit Father Jean Brignon, first published at Paris in 1688, has had so wide an influence, especially as the source of the English translations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that it is to be regretted that he left the authorship an open question, although he made use of the text of Masotti. His statement represents the neutral position taken at Paris at the close of the seventeenth century: “Le merite et la réputation d'un Livre universellement estimé, ont donné occasion à une despute, qui dure encore entre quelques Ordres Religieux touchant celui qui en est le véritable Auteur.

¹ *Comp. del. Diss.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xxxvi.

Les Reverends Peres Benedictins¹ veulent que se soit Dom Jean de Castanisa Espagnol. Les Reverends Peres Theatins prétendent que c'est Dom Laurent Scupoli Italien : Le Pere Theophile Raynaut,² celebre Ecrivain de la Compagnie de Jesus, assure que c'est le Pere Achille Gagliardo Jesuite, et fameux Prédicateur en Italie, connu, estimé, et cheri particulierement de Saint Charles Borromée. Je ne me hazarderai point à décider ce differend, quelque interêt que j'y puisse avoir. Car outre que cela demanderoit une trop longue discussion, j'aime mieux laisser chacun en possession de ses droits, que de me faire des ennemis, en me déclarant ouvertement pour l'un des partis.”³

In the English editions based upon the French version of Fr. Brignon, the name of Gagliardi does not appear, and the authorship is divided between Castaniza and Scupoli : “What appears most probable in regard of this tract is that the first sketch of it was from the pen of D. John de Castanissa, a Spanish Benedictine; but that the finishing hand, with very great additions, was put to it by D. Laurence Scupoli, a Theatine of Italy.”⁴

In the fresh light which has been thrown upon this

¹ Brignon's note: *In Indiculo Libror. Asceticorum*, p. 66.

² Brignon does not seem to doubt the responsibility of Fr. Raynaut for the statement in the *Erotemata*. In his note he says: “Erotemate x. *De bonis ac malis libris*, Tom. xi. p. 267.”

³ *Avertissement du Traducteur.*

⁴ Ed. of J. T. Birmingham, 1769.

question by the labours of Dom Inn. Rafael Savonarola, Dom Gaetano Volpi, and Antonio Francesco Vezzosi of the same order, this conclusion of the English editions of the eighteenth century cannot be held. The internal evidence of the *Spiritual Combat* itself, and the external evidence of the earliest editions have established the authorship of Dom Lorenzo Scupoli. The learning and the devotion of the Benedictine and the Jesuit orders are too well established to suffer from the renunciation of a claim they may at one time have thought a strong one, and the Theatine Fathers, otherwise not so well known in England and America, will enter again into their true inheritance of a work of spiritual practice, and a fruit of spiritual patience and discipline.

IV

The life of Lorenzo Scupoli was very different in character and incident from the life of St. Francis de Sales. The life of St. Francis is full of action, at home, at school, at Paris and Padua, in the Court of France and Savoy, in the organisation of missionary work among the Protestants of the Chablais, or in the administration of the diocese of Geneva and of the order of the Visitation. The life of Scupoli is wrapped largely in silence, broken here and there by a tradition of study, by the labours of the priestly office, and tempered throughout by the practice of spiritual devotion. The pathetic direction of the will

of St. Francis that he should be buried in his Cathedral Church of Geneva, if God would grant the submission of that city to the Catholic Church, and the humility with which Scupoli persisted in wearing the lay cap instead of the priestly biretta, witness to the lifelong sorrow which chastened in each the spiritual life—one an exile from his episcopal city, the other an exile from his priestly office. The chastening hand of discipline wrought in each of them the ripest fruits of spiritual experience: in one the persuasive counsels of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, in the other the simple rules and practical precepts of the *Spiritual Combat*.

Francesco was the baptismal name of Lorenzo Scupoli.¹ He was born in the city of Otranto in 1529.² His admission into the Theatine order proves that he was of noble parentage. The only tradition of his early life is his devotion to study: “*Qui ingenium litterarum studiis in seculo excoluerat, spiritum expolire in ordine perinde cœpit.*”³ At the age of forty he applied for admission into the Theatine order, and his application was received with favour

¹ Vezzosi, *I Scrittori de' Cherici regolari detti Teatini*, vol. ii. pp. 276-301.

² Domenico de Angelis, *Vite de' Salentini Letterati*, pt. ii.

³ Giuseppe Silos, *Historiarum Clericorum Regularium*. . . . Pars prior, Romæ, 1650; Pars altera, Romæ, 1655; Pars tertia, Panormi, 1666, pt. iii. lib. xii. p. 606. Ap. Vezzosi. Silos is the primary source for the life of Scupoli.

by S. Andrea Avellino, who was then head of the house of S. Paolo at Naples. In the General Chapter of the order held at Venice in 1569, a faculty was granted to the Fathers of S. Paolo to receive into their congregation Francesco da Otranto.¹ On the 25th January 1571 he was admitted to the solemn profession by P. Dom Girolamo Ferro, the successor of S. Andrea Avellino, in the house of S. Paolo at Naples, and took the name of Lorenzo in religion. For six years he remained a lay member of the congregation, and was only admitted to the priesthood at Piacenza in 1577, at the age of forty-eight.² His natural leaning to the devotional life was strengthened by the practice of devotion; his own insight into divine things, his skill in teaching, and his persuasiveness of manner were the secret of his success in his ministerial work: “*Genio quodam ad pietatis studia propensus, atque usu deinde elimatus, eo tandem evasit, ut formandæ aliorum religioni a peculiari quodam divinarum sensu, a docendi instruendique ratione, a dictionis qua spiritum instillabat, suavitate, nihil esset Laurentio opportunius.*”³

In 1578 he was sent from Piacenza to Milan, where S. Andrea Avellino was head of the Theatine house.⁴

¹ *Acta Capit. Gen. MSS. Tom. i.,* in the archives of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo at Rome. *Ap. Vezzosi.*

² *Atti del. Cap. Gen. 1577,* at S. Silvestro in Rome. *Ap. Vezzosi.*

³ Gius. Silos, *Hist. Cher. Reg.* P. iii. p. 606. *Ap. Vezzosi.*

⁴ *Atti del Cap. Gen. 1578,* at S. Silvestro in Rome. *Ap. Vezzosi.*

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In 1581 he was transferred to Genoa, when the plague, which had begun to attack the city in the August of 1579, was at its close. At Genoa he worked for four years. In 1585 he was accused by a malicious slanderer,¹ of grave crime,² and being unable to find any witness to refute the charge, he was sentenced by decree of the General Chapter at Venice to a long and severe penance.³ He was degraded from the priestly office, and numbered among the lay brothers of the order. The nature of the charge is not known. It is the invariable custom of the Theatine order to destroy all records of such trials.⁴ But de Angelis says the charge concerned some article of faith, “accagionato interno alla rettitudine della sua credenza”;⁵ but he gives no authority for his statement. Silos, without giving the nature of the charge, more than once declares that it was a mere calumny.⁶ Dr Pusey, who refers to de Tracy’s notice of the “Life of Scupoli,” prefixed to an edition of the French version of Fr. Brignon in 1818, says: “In patient retirement, under some shocking calumny which ranked its author among the carnal and the degraded, the *Spiritual*

¹ “Da scaltro indegno calunniatore”: Vezzosi.

² D. Andrea Sottani, Annali MSS. della Casa di S. Siro di Genova: nel citato Archivio, Cassett. xliv. 15. *Ap.* Vezzosi.

³ The decree is in the *Acts of the Gen. Chap. of Venice in 1585*, under the title: “Notamento Secreto per la Casa di Roma.” *Ap.* Vezzosi.

⁴ Vezzosi.

⁵ *Vite di Salentini Lett.* T. ii. p. ii.

⁶ *Ap.* Vezzosi.

Combat was written. So was the author hidden from the world, that it does not appear now to be known how the calumny was circulated, prevailed, or disappeared. It came when he was much past middle life (55), and when such a special calumny as this might well be thought too improbable to have prevailed. Only, to the world's followers, nothing is incredible, except the holiness of the servants of God. ‘If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more those of His household.’’¹

He retired to Venice, and spent the next few years between the Theatine houses of Venice and Padua.² His visits to the house of Padua are recorded in 1589, 1590, and 1591. It is therefore possible that he became known to St. Francis de Sales at Padua in 1589, and gave to him the precious copy of the *Spiritual Combat*, which was regarded by St. Francis as the director of his spiritual life, and became the inspiration of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*.

His removal to Naples is only inferred from the publication at Naples of the *Spiritual Combat* for the first time in 1599. He died there, in the same house of S. Paolo in which he had taken the vows, on 28th November 1610, at the age of eighty.

It was during these twenty-five years of “solitude

¹ *The Spiritual Combat* (Fifth Edition, London: J. H. Parker, 1857), pp. vi.-vii.

² Diari MSS. delle due Case Teatini di Venezia e di Padua. Ap. Vezzosi.

and silence”¹ that he wrote the *Spiritual Combat* and the other treatises which have since been published under his name. Silos says his life was in harmony with his teaching : “ Respondebantque præclaris ejusmodi præceptis viri mores. Nam solitudinis amantisimus, in disciplina atque institutione totus erat.”² It was God’s will that in the time of his humiliation, when he was treated with disdain by his superiors, and was regarded by his brethren as a dishonour to the Congregation, though unknown by name, he was regarded by a great part of the faithful as the champion and the guide to Christian perfection : “ Iddio, che mortifica, e vivifica, che umilia ed esalta, fe si che nel tempo stesso di sua umiliazione nel mentre che lo Scupoli da’ suoi Superiori si trattava con grave e serio contegno ; ed era de’ suoi Confratelli tenuto qual peso inutile della Congregazione, e fors’ anco di essa il disonore e lo scorno ; da una gran parte de’ Fedeli, benchè ad essi incognito per nome, si acclammasse, e si venerasse ne’ suoi scritti qual gran condottiere, scorta, e guida alla Cristiana Perfezione.”³

In his later life he rarely left his room, except under obedience or at the call of charity. He was so great a lover of poverty that there was nothing in his room but a crucifix, a poor bedstead, a table, and a wretched wooden chair. He was always engaged in prayer, the

¹ Dom. de Angelis, “Fu amantissimo della solitudine e del silenzio.”—*Vit. de’ Salent.* p. 8.

² Silos, *Hist.* pt. iii. lib. xii. p. 606. *Ap.* Vezzosi.

³ Vezzosi.

fruit of which may be gathered in the *Spiritual Combat*. His love towards his neighbour was so great that he would never refuse any labour which might be of profit or solace to the spiritual life.¹

He was of an austere life, and was a most exact observer of the rules of his Congregation. He was of noble and severe countenance, of sickly complexion, and of a weak digestion, which was caused by his strict retirement and his continuous prayer. He disparaged all applause and all praise. He had great skill in the guidance of the conscience, and his *Spiritual Combat* was a school of perfection for many devout souls.²

The *Spiritual Combat* is the expression of his life. Dr Pusey says: "It seems the experience of a life condensed. And this may give it such an especial value among us, now when so many are silently looking out for more special guidance, that it is so full of practical rules, what to do, how to escape temptation, how to advance in holiness."³

1 Dom. de Angelis.

2 "Ebbe gran maneggio nel regolamento delle coscienze, e dallas ua scuola uscirono moltissime anime perfette: e tali appunto, quali egli le istruiva col suo libro del Combattimento Spirituale."—Dom. de Angelis.

3 These words are dated, "Christ Church, Quinquagesima, 1846." They are as true to-day as they were then.

An English version for the use of English Catholics was made from the Shorter Recension of the *Spiritual Combat* by Father Gerard within nine years of its publication, and published in London in 1598.¹ There is reference in the "Advertisement" of the English edition of 1652 to an English version printed at Louvain in the same year (1598), which was translated from the Italian, "transplanted . . . out of the gardens of certain Italian manuscripts."² The Douay Fathers also published an English version in 1599, of which mention is made in the Rouen edition of 1613.³ Those who worked for the restoration of the old religion in England in the later years of Elizabeth, recognised the value of the simple devotional methods of the *Spiritual Combat* for the strengthening of English spiritual life.

The date of the second edition of Gerard's version is not known, but in 1613 the third edition was published at Rouen. Amid the fierce controversies of the reign of James I. there were many English Catholics, both in exile and at home, who valued the humble methods of the devotional life. It is interesting to notice that the third edition of the English translation of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, by St. Francis de Sales, was also published at Rouen in

¹ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xlvi.

² The ed. of 1652: "Advertisement to the devout Reader."

³ *Cat. cron.* (Padua Ed. of 1750), p. xlvi.

the following year (1614). Jeremy Taylor, in a later generation,¹ recognised the value of the latter. It does not seem that he was acquainted with the *Spiritual Combat*. As practical aids to the spiritual life these two books stand apart from the devotional literature of the English Church in the opening years of the seventeenth century. The Church was under the blight of controversy, and although there is ample evidence of a spirit of devotion in such men as Bishop Andrewes and George Herbert, yet the method of devotion fell far short of the standard set by Scupoli and recognised by St. Francis de Sales. Bishop Andrewes' *Devotions* are the witness to a devout life, but they were never intended to aid others to attain a life of holiness. Dean Church recognises this in his study of Bishop Andrewes: "There are books which go deeper into the struggles, the questionings, the temptations, the discipline, the strange spiritual mysteries of the devout spirit. There are books which perhaps rise higher in the elevations of devotion. But nowhere do we see more so original and spontaneous a result of a man's habit of devotion."² There is indeed originality and spontaneity in the English devotional writings of this period, but there is wanting that method and system with which the devotional traditions of the Church moulded and inspired the work of Scupoli and St. Francis de Sales. This contrast may be

¹ He was born in 1613, the date of the third edition of Gerard's version of the *Spiritual Combat*.

² *Masters in English Theology*. King's College Lectures for 1877. London, 1877.

seen by comparing Dr Donne's *Devotions in Sickness*, published in 1624, with the *Modo di Consolare* of Scupoli, printed for the first time in 1609. The former breathes the true spirit of English devotional feeling, but it is wanting in the practical touch of Scupoli's little treatise.

There is no record of an English version between 1613 and 1652, when the edition of the Douay Fathers was printed at Paris. The first edition of this version of the *Spiritual Conflict*, as it is called, has not been traced, but it is not probable that it was of a much earlier date; for the "Approbation" given to the *Christian Pilgrim in his Spiritual Conflict and Conquest* by Dr Barlow, "Professor of Divinity in the Vedastin College, Doway," was "given at Doway January the seventeenth, 1652, stilo novo." The publication of the second edition of the *Holy Dying* of Jeremy Taylor is dated the same year. English Churchmen and English Catholics were suffering a common exile and a common sorrow; the measure which the English Church had meted out to English Catholics in the time of James I. was in its turn being meted out to English Churchmen by the Puritan fanaticism of the Commonwealth period. "The truth is," Dr Hammond wrote in this the darkest age of religious life in England, "unless some care be otherwise taken to maintain the communion of our Church, it is to little purpose that any write in defence of it; it will soon be destroyed."¹

¹ Harl. MSS. 6942: quoted in Perry's *Hist. of the Eng. Ch. 1509-1717*, p. 483.

The translator of the English version of 1652, in his address “to the Devout Champions fighting in this spirituall warfare,” recognises the troubles which followed upon the death of Charles I.: “To you, dear souls, is this little work most fitly addressed; who in this deplorable age, (when the deluge of all vices, and an universall inundation of wickedness covers the face of the Earth, and to which that may be applied almost as properly as in the time of the generall flood, *All flesh hath corrupted his way;*) having happily left the broad and beaten path of perdition, and estranged yourselves from the pernicious Contagion of the times; employ all your diligence and indeavours to preserve your souls pure and clean from all worldly filth and infection, and whatsoever may displease the eyes of your Heavenly Spouse.” The same writer, in the dedication “to the right Reverend Fathers, Religious Dames, and devout Brothers and Sisters of the holy order of Saint Bennet,” states shortly the object of the *Spiritual Combat* in words which commended it at once both to the English Churchmen in exile and to the English Catholics of the old religion: “What are (or surely should be) the continuall endeavours of a true Benedic-tin Monk (and indeed of all devout Christians) but to quell and conquer *the world, the flesh, and the Devill*, according to the Principles of Truth; to subdue *sense to reason*; to make his very *passions*¹ (by tam-ing them) usefull, and his *affections* (by fixing them

¹ This refers to the chapter on the “Challenge of the Passions,” chapter xiii. of the present edition.

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upon the right object) instrumentall to the attaining of perfection ; and to study *self-knowledge*, practise *self-hatred*, and persevere in *self-deniall*? that God may be the sole possessor of his heart, the only mover of his affections, and the all-ruler in his whole man, having now no *self-will* left to hinder His holy operation.” Is it surprising that these words commended the use of the *Spiritual Combat* to the English Churchmen abroad, and that on their return at the Restoration in 1660, this edition was one of the most precious treasures they brought with them to England ?¹

Two years later another English version of the original Shorter Recension was made by Robert Reade, and printed also at Paris in 1656. This edition is independent of the edition of 1652. Its Shorter title is “The Spirituall Combat, or the Perfection of a Christian life.” There was printed with it “a Letter of St. Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, the Disciple of St. Augustin, to his Cousin Valerian.” On the title-page is the motto : “There is no Better way to end happily a true spirituall life than dayly to beginne. Bd. Sales, Bp. of Geneva.”

The translator speaks of his exile in his dedicatory letter to Abbot Mountague. He refers to the “fatherly care you have been pleased to take of mee in my distresses, without which I confesse before all the world, I might have been abandon’d in a strange country to the extremity of all necessity.” It is in such personal

¹ This version formed the basis of Dr Lucas’s edition of 1698.

touches that the true value of this little book as a guide and consolation in time of trouble may be best appreciated. In the close of his “Preface to the Catholiques of England” he says: “But through what organ soever it is convey’d to us we may assure ourselves, considering how pious and orthodox it is, that it originally proceeded from the Holy Ghost, and as from that Divine Spirit lett us cheerfully and lovingly receive it, and crave His holy assistance to practise it in the whole course of our lives.” This edition has also a letter addressed by W. C.—*i.e.* William Clifford, the author of *Christian Rules*—to “his Noble and dearest friend, Mrs Ursula Clifford.”

This edition was also a means of introducing the treatise to English Churchmen. There were many of the English clergy in exile in Paris; the English service was regularly said in the chapel of Sir R. Browne, ambassador from England, and father-in-law of Evelyn; and ordinations sometimes took place in this chapel.¹ And it is to be noticed that the English version of Dr Lucas, though based upon the “Spiritual Conflict” of 1652, has the title “Spiritual Combat” from the edition of 1656.

The *Spiritual Combat* was first adapted to the use of English Churchmen at the close of the seventeenth century. Its value as an aid to the attainment of Christian Perfection had been learnt amid the trials of Puritan ascendancy. It had begun to find its place among the devotional works of the English laity.

¹ Perry, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* 1509-1717, p. 478.

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A copy of the edition of 1652 in the writer's possession has the autograph signature of "Ann Wentworth & Lovelace." It had been in her possession before 1686, when she became Lady Wentworth in her own right, for it has also the signature of "Ann Lovelace."¹

Dr Richard Lucas, Rector of St. Katharine's, Coleman Street, London, in 1698, of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in 1710, and Prebendary of Westminster, was "as eminent for his devotional works as for his preaching."² His *Practical Christianity* "is a plain, earnest work, in which all controversial topics are carefully avoided." He thought "that the want of practical religion betrayed men into the errors which provoked controversy."³ It was his insight into the need of practical holiness which led him to publish "The Spiritual Combat, or the Christian Pilgrim in his Spiritual Conflict and Conquest, by John de Castaniza," for the use of English Churchmen.

On the title-page of the edition of 1698 it is said to be "Revised and Recommended by the Reverend Richard Lucas, D.D., Rector of St. Katharine,

¹ She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, fourth Baron Wentworth of Nettlestead and first Earl of Cleveland (1591-1667), and sister to Sir Thomas Wentworth (1613-1665). She married John, second Baron Lovelace of Hurley, and inherited the Barony of Wentworth on the death of her niece, Henrietta Maria Wentworth, in 1686. She died in 1697.

² Overton, *Life in the Eng. Ch. 1660-1714*, p. 278.

³ *Ibid.* p. 278.

Coleman Street.”¹ It consists of thirty-six chapters and the conclusion, as against the forty chapters of the edition of 1652.² A second edition appeared in 1710, in the reign of Queen Anne. It is this edition to which, in all probability, Bishop Wilson refers in his work on the Lord’s Supper in 1736.

Was the title of the edition of 1652, “The Christian Pilgrime in his Spirituall Conflict and Conquest,” the source of the “Pilgrimage” works of the seventeenth century? Simon Patrick’s *Parable of the Pilgrim* was published in 1663, John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* in 1668. In the same year (1668), *Philothea’s Pilgrimage to Perfection* was published at Bruges, and dedicated by the writer, Brother John of the Holy Cross, an English Friar Minor at Douay, to the “Countesse Dowager of Sussex.” The “Pilgrimage” is “described in a practise of ten dayes solitude,” and is a valuable and little known treasury of practical devotion.³ And, lastly, Dr Lucas’s edition of the “Spiritual Combat” with the Douay title of the “Christian Pilgrim.”

There is no further trace of the *Spiritual Combat*

¹ Canon Overton seems to have overlooked this edition of the *Spiritual Combat* in his chapter on the devotional works of the period.

² The chapters of the 1652 edition which are omitted are chapters xxv. and xxvi., on the Blessed Virgin and the Saints (chapters xlviij. and l. of Scupoli), and chapter xxxvii., on the Sacrifice of the Mass, which is not in Scupoli.

³ *Philothea’s Pilgrimage to Perfection.* Bruges, printed by Luke Kerchove, 1668.

until 1742, when an edition of the Larger Recension of Scupoli was "done into English by J. T." and published in London by F. Needham. The translation was not from the Italian, but from Fr. Brignon's French version of 1688.¹ There had been for a few years a slight lull in the persecution of recusants, though the penal laws were yet in force. Fielding in this same year (1742) wrote: "He was a priest, but those who understand our laws will not wonder he was not over-ready to own it."²

In the reign of George III. a brighter day dawned. The fierce spirit of controversy abated, and although there was occasional outbursts, as at Bristol in 1768, when Bishop Newton brought the laws into force, and closed the chapel which had lately been opened,³ the way was being prepared for the first relaxation of the penal laws in 1778.⁴ In 1769 Dr Johnson, the most vigorous representative of the religious ideas of the English Midlands, and at the same time one of the most loyal of English Churchmen, shocked Boswell by his defence of the Roman Catholics.⁵ They had

¹ This had been printed again in Paris in 1737.

² Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, iii. 8. Quoted by Abbey, *The Eng. Ch. and its Bishops, 1700-1800*, vol. i. p. 216.

³ Abbey, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 95.

⁵ Boswell: "But then, sir, their masses for the dead?" Johnson: "Why, sir, if it be once established that there are souls in purgatory, it is as proper to pray for *them*, as for our brethren of mankind who are yet in this life." Boswell:

at this time a strong centre in Birmingham. Hutton, writing in 1781, says: "They formerly enjoyed a place for religious worship near St. Bartholomew's Chapel, still called Mass-House Lane, but the rude hands of irreligion destroyed it." When he wrote there was none nearer than Edgbaston, but the congregation, which was numerous, was chiefly supplied from Birmingham. Hutton speaks highly, as highly as Dr Johnson, of their devotion. "There appears, however, as much devotion in their public worship as among any denomination of Christians."¹ This devotion in their public worship was the expression of their discipline in the spiritual life. A reprint of the English translation by J. T. was published at Birmingham in 1769, the year in which Dr Johnson expressed to Boswell his "respect for 'the old religion.'"² The title-page reads: "The Spiritual Combat, to which is added, the Peace of the Soul, and the Happiness of a Heart which dies to itself in order to live to God.—'The Life of Man is a Warfare,' Job vii. ver. 1.—Done into English by J. T." The "Peace of the Soul" is the "Sentiero del Paradiso" in fifteen chapters.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth was a period of silent growth among the adherents of the "old religion" in "The idolatry of the Mass?" Johnson: "Sir, there is no idolatry in the Mass. They believe God to be there, and they adore Him."—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, sub. ann. 1769.

¹ Hutton's *History of Birmingham*, 1st ed. 1781, p. 121.

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, sub. ann. 1769.

England. The life at Old Hall was typical of the life of the English Catholics : "It was remarkable for the universal prevalence of the old style of Catholicism, with its unostentatious faith and piety, a type faithfully represented by the works of the well-known Douay writers, Alban Butler and Bishop Challoner. There was not much intellectual culture; and the religion itself was of the silent kind."¹ This silent devotional religious life, practised frequently in remote farm-houses, and especially strong in the Midlands of Staffordshire, was fostered by such books as the *Whole Duty of a Christian and a Guide to Perfection*, published "permissu Superiorum," the *Garden of the Soul*, by Bishop Challoner, the *Poor Man's Catechism*, by Dom John Mannock, the *History of the Bible*, by J. Reeve, and other books of practical devotion and meditation of a similar character.² One book specially was published again and again during this period, and helped to mould this silent spiritual life. In a copy of the tenth edition of the *Spiritual Combat* of 1828 from a cottage in Staffordshire, are written these words: "The gift of her kind and loving sister Anne. . . . Make good

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, by W. Ward, p. 7.

² *Prayers before and after Mass, as used in the Midland Districts*, London, 1827; *General Evening Devotions for Sundays and Holydays, for the use of the Catholic Chapel, Cobridge, Burslem*, 1827; *A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the use of Catholics*, Burslem, 1820.

use of this and pray for the Giver.—Fear God and keep His commandments. Obey all your Superiors for God's sake.”¹

It was in face of this quiet loyalty to faith and prayer and sacrament that the old antipathy broke down, and at the French Revolution, “when Englishmen saw a pagan atheism rampant in the French capital, and blending itself with every kind of horror, . . . it was impossible for thoughtful people with any sense of religion not to feel that the utmost differences which separated Roman Catholics and Protestants were almost insignificant as compared with the bond of a common Christianity. This feeling was greatly promoted, and associated with tenderer feelings of compassion, by the extensive immigration into England of French bishops and clergy.”² “In the winter of 1792 Churchmen of all parties, and not Churchmen only, vied in providing shelter for their unusual guests. ‘None,’ said Horsley, ‘are at this time more entitled to our offices of love than those with whom the difference is wide, in point of doctrine, discipline, and external rites—those venerable exiles, the prelates and clergy of the fallen Church of France.’”²

It is these frequent reprints of the English translation of 1742, not only in London but in the Midlands, and the value set upon it by the humblest of English Catholics, which introduced the *Spiritual Combat* to the notice of English Churchmen at the

¹ Abbey, *The Engl. Ch. 1700-1800*, vol. ii. p. 98.

² *Ibid.* p. 99.

period of the Oxford movement. It was published by John Henry Parker, London, in 1846, with a "Notice by the Editor," signed E. B. P. In the opening words of this notice, Dr Pusey says: "The *Spiritual Combat* is one of the many rich fruits of the Cross, from which comes every good gift and every grace to us, all spiritual wisdom as well as holiness. . . . It is in such books, as far as it is in human books at all, that spiritual guides must themselves learn."¹ He refers to its appreciation by Bishop Wilson: "To us too it comes commended, nearer home, by one, himself a confessor in the cause of holy living, the Apostolic Bishop Wilson; and his brief description of 'the devout author of the *Spiritual Combat*' bespeaks the more his value for the work, since he so seldom refers to any human authors."²

He refers to the previous translation, that indeed which had been so often reprinted since 1742: "The present translation differs considerably in language from that already existing, being formed from the Italian, whereas the previous translation is from the French of the Abbé Brignon."³

He omits little. "As being a book of practice, there was scarcely any thing in it to omit, in translating it for the English Church. And this, amid the serious practical differences which remain, is a comfort to those who, with good Bishop Ken and Bishop Andrewes, mourn over the breaches of the Church,

¹ *The Spiritual Combat*, 5th ed. 1857, p. v., xv.

² *Ibid.* p. xv.

and pray that they may be healed, that as we have ‘one hope of our calling, one faith’ in Him, our ‘one Lord,’ so we may be guided along the same narrow way in Him who is the Way, by those who have before us, in either Communion, been brought in to it by Him, and led by Him unto Himself.”¹

The *Spiritual Combat*, since these words were written in 1846, has taken its place among the devotional works of English Churchmen.

¹ *The Spiritual Combat*, 5th ed. 1857, p. xvi.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS translation has been made from the Turin edition of 1904.¹ In this edition the "Spiritual Combat," the "Supplement," the "Pathway of Paradise," and the "Method of consoling and helping the sick to die well" agree with the edition printed by Giuseppe Comino under the direction of Dom Gaetano Volpi in 1750. The "Mental Dolours" are absent from the edition of 1904.

The Translator owes much to the kind help he has received from the Rev. E. H. Nash, whose suggestions and criticisms have been of the greatest value in the difficult task of being faithful at the same time to the exact meaning of the original Italian and to the genius and requirements of the English rhythm. He also wishes to thank the Rev. T. Scott for the sympathy and fellowship which has helped him to the privilege of an insight into the inner devotional life of the English Catholics of the old religion.

As in the translation of the *Introduction to the*

¹ "Il Combattimento Spirituale del Ven. Servo di Dio Lorenzo Scupoli, Chierico Regolare, aggiuntovi il Sentiero del Paradiso, ed il Modo di consolare e ajutare gli infermi a ben morire del medesimo Autore." Torino, Tipografia Pontificia, Cav. Pietro Marietti. Via Legnano 23, 1904.

Devout Life of St. Francis de Sales, to which this is a companion volume, no attempt has been made to alter the text or adapt it to the use of English Churchmen. The Translator thinks that those who wish to use it will at once appreciate its value ; and that those who appreciate its value will be able themselves to translate the words of Scupoli into the language of their own religious life.

The *Spiritual Combat* is, in the words of St. Francis de Sales, a book to be read and re-read again and again, and not only read but practised. It is wanting in the wealth of illustration and much of the charm of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, but it is simple and clear and practical. It is essentially a First Book in the Practice of Christian Perfection. It is a fitting introduction to the only other book, the Book of Life, the Book which will be open at the last day. The more it is read, the more it is seen to be true to the facts of Christian experience ; the more its directions are practised, and its weapons used, the more they will be found to be needful in the fierce heat of the spiritual combat.

The age of controversy has passed. The trials of the Church abroad have touched the hearts of English Churchmen, and English scholars are following with interest and eagerness the work which is being done by the religious orders in their exile. Such studies in the doctrine of the Incarnation and the mysteries of faith and practice which express that doctrine in creed and worship, help to unite all in devotion to the

Incarnate Lord. Fellowship in study is strengthened and ripened by fellowship in devotion, and such fellowship may be helped by the use of such works as the *Spiritual Combat* and the *Introduction to the Devout Life*.

In conclusion, the Translator would wish to make his own, and would hope that all who use this edition would also make their own, the words of Dr Pusey in the "Notice" to his edition of the *Spiritual Combat*, written at Christ Church, Quinquagesima, 1846, and inspired by the Epistle of the Day: "So while these things remain, for which Almighty God still permits the Church to be divided, may we, at least, grow in love for those from whose writings we derive spiritual benefit, and love what is holy in one another, and our Blessed Lord in His true servants."

HILDERSTONE VICARAGE

Vigil of St. Thomas, 1907

TO THE SUPREME CAPTAIN.
AND MOST GLORIOUS CONQUEROR
JESUS CHRIST
THE SON
OF MARY

BECAUSE our sacrifices as mortals have always been pleasing and are always pleasing to Thy Majesty when they are offered to Thy glory from a pure heart; therefore I present to Thee this little treatise of the *Spiritual Combat*, dedicating it to Thy Divine Majesty. Nor do I hesitate, because the treatise is small; for it is well known that Thou alone art the High Lord who delightest in things that are humble, and despisest the smoke and pretences of the world. And how can I, without shame and without loss, dedicate it to any other than to Thy Majesty, the King of heaven and earth? As to what this treatise teaches, it is all Thy teaching, since Thou has taught us that: "Distrustful of ourselves, we should trust in Thee, fight, and pray."

Further, if any combat has need of an expert head, who may direct the battle and encourage the soldiers, who fight the more manfully the more they fight under an invincible captain: will not this *Spiritual Combat* forsooth need it? Thee, then, we elect, JESUS CHRIST

(all of us who are already resolved to fight and overcome any enemy whatever), as our Captain, for Thou hast overcome the world and the prince of darkness, and by the wounds and death of Thy most sacred flesh hast overcome the flesh of all those who have fought manfully and will fight. When I, O Lord, arranged this *Combat*, I had this saying always in my mind : “Non quod sufficienes simus cogitare aliquid a nobis quasi ex nobis.”¹ If without Thee and without Thy aid we cannot have thoughts that are good ; how shall we be able of ourselves alone to fight against so many most powerful enemies and to escape so many innumerable and hidden snares ? Thine, O Lord, is this *Combat* in all its parts, because, as I have said, Thine is the teaching and Thine are all the spiritual soldiers ; amongst whom are we, the regular clergy of the Theatines. And therefore, prostrate at the feet of Thy Most High Majesty, we all pray Thee to accept this *Combat*, moving us always and encouraging us by Thy present grace to fight still more manfully ; because we have no doubt at all that if Thou fightest in us we shall conquer, to Thy glory and the glory of Thy Most Holy Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Thy most humble servant
purchased with Thy blood,
LORENZO SCUPOLI, C.R.

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 5 : “Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves.”

“ Vos hodie contra inimicos vestros pugnam committitis ; non pertimescat cor vestrum, nolite metuere, nolite cedere, nec formidetis eos : quia Dominus Deus vester in medio vestri est, et pro vobis contra adversarios dimicabit, ut eruat vos de periculo.”¹

Deut. xx. 3-4.

1 “ Ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies : let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them ; for the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.”—Deut. xx. 3-4.

THE SPIRITUAL COMBAT

“Non coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit.”
2 Tim. ii. 2.¹

CHAP. I

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

In what Christian perfection consists; and that to acquire it there is need of fighting; and of the four things needful for this conflict

IF² you wish, dearest daughter in Christ, to attain the height of perfection,³ and by drawing near to your God to become one and the same spirit with Him,⁴ which is the greatest and the most noble enterprise that it is possible to speak of or to imagine, you must first of all know in what the true and perfect spiritual life consists.

For many, without thinking of anything else, have placed it in hardness of life, in maceration of the flesh,

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 5: “Yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully.”

² The text in the edition of 1652.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 17: “That the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.”

⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 17: “He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit.”

in sackcloth, in scourgings, in long vigils, in fasts, and in other like harshness and bodily fatigue.¹

Others, and particularly women, imagine they have come to great perfection when they say many prayers,² when they hear many masses and long offices, when they frequent churches and Communions.³

Many others (among whom may be found at times some one or other who is clothed in the religious habit and lives in the cloister) have persuaded themselves that perfection altogether depends upon frequenting the choir, upon silence, upon solitude, and upon regular discipline.

And so one holds that perfection is founded in their actions, another in other actions similar to them.

This, however, is not so; for as the said works are sometimes a means of acquiring the spirit, and sometimes a fruit of the spirit, so it cannot be said that in them alone consists Christian perfection and the true spirit.

They are without doubt a most powerful means of acquiring the spirit to those who use them well and discreetly to gain strength and force against their own malice and weakness, to arm themselves against the assaults and devices of our common enemies, to provide themselves with those spiritual aids which are necessary to all the servants of God, and especially to those who are young.

They are indeed a fruit of the spirit in persons who

¹ "O poor soul! If thy flesh could speak like Balaam's ass, it would say to thee: 'Why dost thou strike me, wretch!'"—*The Devout Life of St. Francis de Sales*, iii. 23, p. 274.

² "Orazioni vocali."

³ "So do many persons cover themselves with certain outward actions belonging to holy devotion."—*The Devout Life*, i. 1, p. 20.

are truly spiritual. These chastise the body, because it has offended against its Creator ; and to make it subject and humiliated in their service, they are silent and live a solitary life, that they may avoid the least offence against the Lord and may have their conversation in the heavens ;¹ they attend to divine service and to works of piety ; they pray and meditate on the life and passion of our Lord, not for the sake of curiosity and the pleasures of sense, but much more to know their own malice and the goodness and mercy of God, to be more and more inflamed with the divine love and with hatred of themselves, following the Son of God in their self-abnegation with the cross on their shoulder ; they frequent the most holy Sacraments for the glory of His divine Majesty, that they may unite themselves more closely with God and acquire new strength against their enemies.

But to others, indeed, who lay their whole foundation on such external works as these, they are at times able, not from any defect of the things in themselves, since they are all most holy, but by the defect of him who uses them, to present occasions of ruin more than open sins. For whilst men are intent on these things alone, they leave their heart in confusion in the hand of their own inclinations and of the devil, who lurks in secret ; and he, when he sees that these are already off the right path, allows them not only to go on in their practices with pleasure, but also to roam according to their vain notions through the delights of Paradise, where they persuade themselves that they are raised up among the angelic choirs and feel God to be within them. And they are sometimes altogether absorbed in certain meditations full of lofty, curious, and delightful points,

¹ Phil. iii. 20 : "For our conversation is in heaven."

and as if forgetful of the world and its creatures, they themselves seem to be caught up to the third heaven.¹

But in what great errors these may be entangled, and how far they may be from that perfection which we are seeking, can easily be recognised from their life and manners.

For they wish in everything, whether it be great or small, to have the preference and to take advantage of others; they are headstrong and obstinate in their self-will; and, blind as to their own words and deeds, they are quick and diligent observers and slanderers of the words and deeds of others.

For if you touch them only a little in any thing in which they specially pride themselves, in the good opinion which they have of themselves and in which they delight to be held by others, and if you take them away from those devotions which they use by rote,² they altogether fly into a passion and disquiet themselves beyond measure.

And if God, to bring them back to the true knowledge of themselves and to the way of perfection, sends them anxieties and weakness, and allows them to suffer persecutions (which never come without His will, but

¹ The danger of such lofty subjects was fully recognised by the spiritual writers of this period. St. Teresa herself was much troubled at one period by her visions and divine locutions. (*Life of St. Teresa*, anon. pp. 111-134.) St. Francis de Sales saw their danger: "Before you consent to inspirations in important or extraordinary matters, lest you should in any way be deceived, take counsel always of your director, that he may examine whether the inspirations be true or false, inasmuch as the enemy, when he sees a soul quick to consent to inspirations, frequently proposes those which are false that he may deceive it" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 18, p. 145). Cp. also ch. xlvi.

² "A stampa," Dr Pusey translates "formal and stated services."

by His will and permission, and are the touchstone of the loyalty of His servants), they at once discover their false foundation and that they are inwardly corrupted and wasted by pride. For whatever happens, whether it be sad or joyful, they will not resign themselves and humble themselves under the hand of God, acquiescing in His ever just though secret judgments, nor, after the example of His Son in His home life and His passion, will they abase themselves under all creatures, holding their persecutors as dear friends, instruments of the goodness of God, as those who work together with them for their own mortification, perfection, and salvation.

Wherefore it is certain that such as these are placed in grave peril, for having their inward eye darkened and with it looking at themselves and the outward works which are good, they attribute to themselves many grades of perfection; and so in their pride they judge others; and as to themselves, there is none to convert them, except it be some extraordinary help of God.

For this reason the open sinner is much more easily converted and brought back to the right way, than the secret sinner who is covered with the cloak of seeming virtues.

You see then, my daughter, sufficiently clearly that in these things, in the method which I have shown you, spiritual life does not consist.

And you must know that it does not consist in anything else than in the knowledge of the goodness and greatness of God, and of our own nothingness and inclination to every evil; in His love and the hatred of ourselves; in subjection not only to Him, but for love of Him to every creature; in the renunciation of all will of our own, and a complete resignation of ourselves to His good pleasure; and further than this,

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that all this should be willed and done by us simply for the glory of God and for His pleasure alone, and because He thus wills and merits to be loved and served.

This is the law of love impressed by the hand of the Lord Himself in the hearts of His faithful servants.¹

This is the denial of ourselves which He seeks of us.²

This is His easy yoke and light burden.³

This is the obedience to which our Redeemer and Master calls us with His voice and with His example.⁴

And because, if you aspire to the height of so great a perfection, you must do continual violence to yourself that you may fight manfully and bring to naught all the desires, whether they be great or small, it is necessary that you make yourself ready for this combat with all promptness of mind, since the crown is only given to those who fight valiantly.

And this, if it is more difficult than all else (for when we fight against ourselves we are at the same time resisted by ourselves⁵), so the victory obtained will be more glorious than any other and more dear to God.

For if you take care to tread down and put to death all your disordered appetites, desires, and wishes, even to the smallest, you will render greater service to God

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 3 : "Not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart."

² Gal. vi. 3 : "For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself."

³ St. Matt. xi. 30 : "For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

⁴ St. John xiv. 15 : "If ye love me, keep my commandments."

⁵ Rom. vii. 23 : "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind."

than if, while keeping some of them alive willingly, you scourge yourself so as to draw blood, and fast more than the hermits and anchorites of old, or convert thousands of souls.

For although the Lord holds more dear to Himself the conversion of souls than the mortification of the least desire, yet you are not to will or to work anything more particularly than that which the Lord seeks specially and wishes from you.

And He without doubt is more pleased that you should take trouble and care in mortifying your passions than that you, leaving, it may be, only one of them wittingly and willingly alive in you, should serve Him in anything however large it be or of greater consequence.

Now that you see, my daughter, in what Christian perfection consists, and that to acquire it you have to undertake a continual and very sharp conflict against yourself, there is need that you should provide yourself with four things, as the surest and most necessary arms, that you may gain the palm and remain conqueror in this spiritual combat. These are :

Distrust of ourselves,¹ trust in God,² practice,³ and prayer.⁴

Of all these we shall treat with the help of God, and with such brevity as is fitting.⁵

¹ "La diffidenza di noi stessi." *Cp.* chs. ii. iv.-vi.

² "La confidenza in Dio." *Cp.* chs. iii.-vi.

³ "L'esercizio." *Cp.* chs. vii.-xlivi.

⁴ "E l'orazione." *Cp.* chs. xliv.-lii.

⁵ This chapter agrees with chapter i. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza, Engl. Tr. 1652, ed. Vaughan. The Bishop of Belley refers to this chapter as an example of the influence the *Spiritual Combat* had on the spirit of devotion in St. Francis de Sales: "Qui en voudra voir un échantillon, confère le premier chapitre de la *Philothée* avec le

CHAP. II

DISTRUST OF SELF

Of distrust of ourselves

DISTRUST¹ of yourself, my daughter, is so necessary to you in this combat that without it you must hold it as certain that not only will you not be able to obtain the desired victory, but you will not be able to overcome even the very smallest of your little passions.

And let this indeed imprint itself on your mind, premier chapitre du *Combat Spirituel*, et il connaîtra combien ce que je dis est véritable" (*L'Esprit du B. Fr. de Sales*, iii. 12). The comparison is important and at the same time significant. The *Spiritual Combat* speaks of "attaining the height of perfection," the *Devout Life* of "aspiring to devotion." The spiritual experience of St. Francis saw the danger of much of the teaching of perfection: "Je n'entends parler que de perfection . . . et je vois fort peu de gens qui la pratiquent. Chacun en fait une à sa mode, et c'est une vraie idole de Micas. . . . Pour moi je ne sais ni ne connais point d'autre perfection chrétienne que d'aimer Dieu de tout son cœur, et son prochain comme soi-même. Toute autre perfection, sans celle-ci est une fausse perfection" (*L'Esprit*, i. 29). In the teaching of St. Francis de Sales perfection is swallowed up in love: "Comme l'âme est la vie du corps, la charité aussi est la vie et la perfection de l'âme" (*ibid.* i. 29). The Bishop of Belley says in another place: "Quand on se servait de ce terme (d'acquérir la perfection) en sa présence, il avait de coutume de rider le front, et de témoigner par quelque contenance qu'il ne lui était pas agréable. . . . Ainsi il ramenait suavement les esprits au point qu'il désirait, qui était de n'avoir autre idée que celle de la charité, quand il était question de parler de la vraie et essentielle perfection du christianisme" (*L'Esprit*, xiii. 21. *Cp.* i. 4-5).

¹ This and the following three paragraphs are part of the "explication" of 1652.

inasmuch as we are much too easily inclined by our corrupt nature to a false opinion of ourselves ; that, since we are really none else than a mere nothing, we yet give ourselves to understand that we are something ; and without any foundation at all we presume vainly on our own strength.

This is a defect very difficult to understand and most displeasing in the eyes of God, Who loves and desires in us a loyal recognition of this most certain truth, that every grace and virtue proceeds in us from Him alone, Who is the fountain of all good, and that nothing, not even a good thought, can come from us except it be of His will.

And although this distrust, important as it is, is itself indeed the work of God's hand, Who is accustomed to give it to His dear friends sometimes with holy inspirations, sometimes with harsh scourgings and with violent and as it were insuperable temptations, and with other means which are not understood by ourselves ; yet, since He wishes that we on our part should work together with Him in that which concerns ourselves, I am setting before you four means by which, with the help specially of favour from above, you may be able to acquire such distrust.

The¹ first is that you should consider and know your own vileness and nothingness, and that of yourself you cannot do any good thing by means of which you may merit an entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

The second is that you should yourself ask it of the Lord Himself with fervent and humble prayers, since it is His gift. And to obtain it, you ought first of all to see not merely that you are wholly devoid of it, but

¹ This and the following paragraph are the opening part of the text in 1652.

that you are altogether powerless to acquire it of yourself. So, if you present yourself again and again before His divine Majesty with a sure faith that He will grant it to you of His goodness, and if with perseverance you wait for it through all the time His providence appoints, there is no doubt that you will obtain it.¹

The third way² is that you should be accustomed to fear yourself, your own judgment, the strong inclination to sin, the innumerable enemies against whom you are not sufficient of yourself to offer even the least resistance; their long practice in fighting, their stratagems, their transfigurations into angels of light, and the innumerable arts and snares which they secretly lay for us in the very way of virtue itself.

The fourth way³ is that when you happen to fall into any fault, you should then look more deeply within and more boldly into the consideration of your own utter feebleness; that for this purpose God has permitted you to fall, that, being warned by inspiration with a clearer light than before, you may indeed know yourself and learn to despise yourself as something indeed most vile, and that you may desire to be considered as such and despised likewise by others; that without this desire there cannot be a virtual distrust, since it has its foundation in true humility and in such experimental knowledge.⁴

¹ Col. iv. 2: "Continue in prayer and watch in the same."

² The paragraph is absent from Castaniza.

³ This is the text of 1652, where it appears as the "third way."

⁴ St. Francis de Sales emphasises this in his "Counsels on Inward Humility": "We say many a time that we are nothing, that we are the offscouring and refuse of the world. But we should be much troubled if we were taken at our word, and if we were spoken of publicly as we speak of ourselves" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 5, p. 186).

Therefore¹ it is clear that to anyone who wishes to be united with the supreme light and uncreated truth, knowledge of self is necessary; and this the divine clemency ordinarily gives to the proud and presumptuous by means of falls, allowing them in His justice to run into some fault from which they are persuaded that they are able to defend themselves, to the end that thus coming to a knowledge of themselves they may learn to distrust themselves altogether.

But² the Lord is not accustomed to make use of so miserable a means as this except when others which are more gentle, which we have spoken of above, have not brought that succour which He in His goodness has intended.

For³ He so far permits a man more or less to fall as his pride and self-esteem is greater or less; in such a way that where nothing of presumption was found, as in the Virgin Mary, there would be no fall.⁴

¹ The text of 1652.

² The paragraph is absent in Castaniza.

³ This forms the concluding section of the text of 1652.

⁴ This reference to the Blessed Virgin recalls the statement of St. Augustine: "Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem" (St. Aug. *De Natura et Gratia*, Tom. x. p. 144). This question of the freedom of the Blessed Virgin from sin slowly impressed itself on the faith of the Western Church. It found expression in the Festival of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in Spain as early as the tenth century. (*Fluck. Liturgik*, ii. 2, p. 757.) It was from the Church of England, through the impulse of St. Anselm (1093-1109), that the Festival gradually took its place in the Western Church. It was at first not of obligation: "Omnia festa B. Mariæ serventur, præter festum Conceptionis, cuius celebrationi non imponitur necessitas" (*Conc. Oxon. ann. 1122*, c. 8). Its adoption by the Chapter of Lyons called

forth a protest from St. Bernard in 1140. He thought the sanctity and honour of the Blessed Virgin was sufficiently safeguarded by the Feast of the Nativity. He states definitely that the Blessed Virgin was sanctified before birth : “ Fuit proculdubio et Mater Domini ante sancta quam nata : nec fallitur omnino sancta Ecclesia, sanctum reputans ipsum Nativitatis ejus diem, et omni anno cum exultatione universæ terræ votiva celebritate suscipiens.” He also considers that she was kept free from sin throughout her life : “ Ego puto, quod et copiosior sanctificationis benedictio in eam descenderit, quæ ipsius non solum sanctificaret ortum, sed et vitam ab omni deinceps peccato custodiret immunem, quod nemini alteri in natis quidem mulierum creditur esse donatum. Decuit nimirum Reginam virginum singularis privilegio sanctitatis, absque omni peccato ducere vitam” (*S. Bern. Ep. 174, op. T. i. p. 170*). St. Thomas Aquinas does not go beyond the position of St. Bernard. He concludes : “ Rationabiliter creditur beatam Virginem Mariam fuisse in utero sanctificatam ” ; and again : “ Non fuit beata Virgo ante animationem sanctificata sed post ” (*S. Thom. Ag. P. iii. Qu. xxvii. Arts. 1-2*). The latter conclusion, which shut out the Immaculate Conception, was refuted by the Franciscans, the chief argument of Duns Scotus before the Sorbonne being : “ Deus potuit Mariam præservare ; ergo etiam fecit.” The question was left open at the Council of Trent, though the Blessed Virgin was specially excluded from the Decree on Original Sin. The controversy continued between the Dominicans and Franciscans during the closing years of the sixteenth century, at the time when the *Spiritual Combat* was written. Pius V. in 1570 forbade the question to be raised in sermons. Gregory XV. in 1616 ruled that those who held the Immaculate Conception should not attack the opposite belief, and that in the Mass and the Office no other expression was to be used beyond the word “ Conceptio.” (*Fluck. Lit.* pp. 758-764.) It is under these safeguards that the Festival still stands in the Calendar of the English Church on 8th December. The belief as held by the Franciscans was raised into a dogma by the Bull “ Ineffabilis Deus,” promulgated by Pius IX. on 8th December 1854. St. Francis de Sales alludes to the Festival in a letter to Mad. de Chantal (ed. Migne, v. 1667), but there does not appear any sermon for the Festival (*ibid. iv.*).

So¹ that when you fall, hasten at once in thought to a humble recognition of yourself, and with earnest prayer ask the Lord that He will give you the true light of self-knowledge, and a complete distrust of yourself unless you wish to fall again, and sometimes, it may be, into more serious ruin.²

¹ The opening section of the “explication” in 1652.

² This chapter corresponds with chapter ii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. But the first few paragraphs of Scupoli form the concluding sections of the chapter in Castaniza, and are noted by the English translator of 1652 as “explication.” This has led the translator to refer the “four means” proposed in par. 4 to the “four things” set forth in chapter i. The only portion, therefore, attributed to Castaniza are pars. 5, 6, 8, 9, and 11, the first, second, and fourth means of acquiring distrust of ourselves, and the conclusion. The third way, the knowledge of the “arts and snares” of our enemies and the reference to the “gentler means” in par. 10, have no place in the text of Castaniza. The last paragraph in Scupoli, which in Castaniza immediately precedes the substance of the first few paragraphs of Scupoli, are also noted as part of the enlargement. This comparison seems to prove that even if Scupoli made use of an earlier work of Castaniza, the English edition of Castaniza is based largely on the final editions of Scupoli. The gentler method of God’s discipline is part of the expansion of Scupoli. One sentence in the English edition of 1652: “he hath almost the like inclination to evil, as a heavy stone hath to the earth’s centre”: has no parallel in Scupoli. The comparison of the chapters in Scupoli and Castaniza points rather to the integrity of Scupoli.

This subject of distrust of self is frequently referred to by the Bishop of Belley. (*L’Esprit*, i. 14, iii. 29, xv. 30.) He quotes among others the following words of St. Francis: “Sur ce sujet, je lui demandais un jour ce qu’il fallait faire pour arriver à une parfaite défiance de soi-même. Il me répondit: ‘Se confier parfaitement en Dieu’” (*L’Esprit*, iii. 29). And again: “‘Il est bon’ dit notre bienheureux Père, ‘de se dénier de nous-mêmes: mais de quoi nous servirait-il de la faire, si non pour jeter toute notre confiance en Dieu, et nous attendre à sa miséricorde?’” (*L’Esprit*, xv. 30).

CHAP. III

TRUST IN GOD

Of trust in God

DIISTRUST¹ of self, although, as we have said, it is so necessary in this conflict, yet if we have it alone we shall either give ourselves to flight or remain conquered and overcome by our enemies; therefore besides this you have need also of a complete trust in God, hoping and expecting from Him alone whatsoever of good, of help, of victory there may be.²

For³ as we of ourselves, who are nothing, cannot hope for anything except falls, and ought therefore utterly to distrust ourselves, so of our Lord we shall safely gain every great victory, if only, that we may obtain His help, we arm our heart with a lively trust in Him.

And⁴ this likewise may be acquired in four ways.

First, By asking it of God.

Secondly, By considering and seeing with the eye of faith the omnipotence and infinite wisdom of God, to Whom nothing is impossible or difficult; and since His

¹ The text of 1652.

² St. Francis de Sales more than once speaks of the close connection of these two: "Il me dit que ces deux choses étaient comme les deux bassinets d'une balance. 'L'élévation de l'un est l'abaissement de l'autre. Plus nous avons de défiance de nous-même, plus nous avons de confiance en Dieu.' Il en est ici, ajoutait-il comme des deux seaux d'un puits attachés à même corde: l'un ne se peut hausser, que l'autre ne se baisse; ni l'un s'emplir, que l'autre ne se vide. Se dénier beaucoup de soi, c'est se confier beaucoup en Dieu: se confier beaucoup en soi, c'est se dénier beaucoup de Dieu" (*L'Esprit*, iii. 29).

³ The first section of the enlargement in 1652.

⁴ The continuation of the text in 1652.

goodness is without measure, He is ready and prepared of His ineffable will from hour to hour and from moment to moment to give us all that is needful for the spiritual life and for a complete victory over ourselves, if we run into His arms with confidence.

And how can it be possible that our divine Shepherd, who for thirty years went after the lost sheep¹ with crying so strong² that He became hoarse with it, and by a way so painful and thorny that He shed all His blood upon it, and in it laid down His life; now that the sheep is going after Him in obedience to His commandments, and even with a desire (if it be at times indeed feeble) of obeying Him, calling upon Him, and praying to Him—how can it be possible that He will do other than turn upon him His life-giving eyes,³ hear him, and set him upon His divine shoulders, rejoicing with all His neighbours and with the angels of heaven?

For⁴ if our Lord did not cease with great diligence and love to search for and to find, in the piece of money⁵ in the Gospel, the sinner that was blind and dumb, how can it be possible that He will abandon him when as a lost sheep he cries and calls upon his own Shepherd?⁶

And⁷ who will believe that God, Who knocks continually at the heart of man with the desire of

¹ St. Luke xv. 3-7.

² Heb. v. 7: "Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears . . . and was heard in that he feared."

³ "Quei suoi occhi di vita."

⁴ This paragraph is absent from the 1652 edition of Castaniza.

⁵ St. Luke xv. 8-10.

⁶ Cp. Ps. xxiii. 1; 1 St. Pet. ii. 25.

⁷ The continuation of the text of 1652.

entering in and supping there,¹ communicating His own gifts to him; who will believe if only he opens his heart to Him and invites Him that He will really act as if He were deaf, and will not rather desire to enter in?

The *third* way to acquire this holy trust is to have recourse² with the memory to the truth of Holy Scripture, which in so many places shows us clearly that he who trusts in God can never be confounded.³

The *fourth* way which will serve at once to acquire distrust of yourself and trust in God, is this:

When it occurs to you to do anything and to undertake any struggle with and victory over yourself, before you propose or resolve to yourself that you will do it, turn in thought to your own weakness, and then when you have become really distrustful of yourself, turn to the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, and⁴ trusting in this, determine to work and to fight valiantly; and with these arms in your hand and with prayer, such as I shall speak of in its own place, fight and work indeed.

And⁵ if you do not observe this order, although you may seem to yourself to be doing everything with trust in God, you will find yourself to a great extent deceived,

¹ Rev. iii. 20: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in and sup with him, and he with me."

² St. John v. 39: "Search the scriptures . . . they are they which testify of me."

³ Ps. lxix. 6 (Vulg. Ps. 68): "Let not those that seek thee be confounded through me, O Lord God of Israel." Ps. xxxiv. 22 (Vulg. Ps. 33): "All they that put their trust in him shall not be destitute."

⁴ The remaining part of this paragraph is absent from Castaniza.

⁵ The continuation of the text of 1652.

self-presumption being so common to men and so subtle, that it lurks almost always in secret in the distrust which we seem to have of ourselves and in the trust which we think we have in God.

That you may avoid presumption as much as possible and work with distrust of yourself and trust in God, it is necessary that the consideration of your own weakness should go before the consideration of the omnipotence of God, and both these before all our actions.¹

CHAP. IV

SELF-CONFIDENCE

How it may be known whether a man works with distrust of himself and trust in God

IT² sometimes appears to the presumptuous servant that he has attained to distrust of himself and trust

¹ The greater portion of this chapter appears in the earlier sections of chapter iii. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. Paragraph 2 in Scupoli stands as section 8 in Castaniza, and is noted as "enlargement" by the English translator of 1652. The second part of paragraph 11 of Scupoli on the duty of fighting valiantly, the last paragraph on avoiding presumption, and the reference to the piece of money are absent from Castaniza.

The Bishop of Belley records many incidents in illustration of the trust in God which was shown by St. Francis de Sales in his life (*L'Esprit*, i. 28, ii. 7, xiv. 21, xv. 14): "Or cet confiance en Dieu a paru en beaucoup d'instances de la vie de notre bienheureux Père, mes très-chères Sœurs; mais il m'est avis que l'acte en fut signalé lorsque étant sur le point d'être promu à l'épiscopat, il tomba dans une si extrême maladie, qu'il fut jugé à mort par les médecins, qui désespérèrent de sa guérison" (*ibid.* xiv. 21).

² This chapter forms the second part of the text of chapter iii. of Castaniza in the 1652 edition.

in God ; and yet it is not so. And the effect which a fall will have upon you will make this clear to you.

If, then, when you fall you are disquieted and saddened and feel yourself to some degree in despair of being able to go forward and do good, it is a sure sign that you have trusted in yourself and not in God.

And if this sadness and despair is considerable, you have trusted much in yourself and little in God, since he who to a great extent has been distrustful of himself and trustful of God does not become surprised when he falls, nor is he sad and complaining, since he knows that this has happened to him through his own weakness and his want of trust in God. Thus being less confident in himself, he trusts much more humbly in God, and hating above all things his fault and the inordinate passions which were the causes of his fall, with a sorrow at having offended against God which is great and yet quiet and calm, he goes on with his undertaking and follows up his enemies even unto death with a stronger courage and resolution than before.

I would that these things might be well considered by certain persons who are spiritually minded, who when they have fallen into some fault cannot and will not be quiet ;¹ and sometimes the rather to free themselves from the anxiety and disquietude which is born of self-love, than for any other reason, they do not wait an hour before going to find their spiritual father, to whom they ought chiefly to go to wash themselves

¹ St. Francis de Sales utters a warning against this restlessness of spirit : "When, then, you are pressed with the desire of being freed from some evil, or of attaining some good, before all things place your spirit in a state of repose and tranquillity, calm your judgment and your will" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 11, p. 377).

from the stain of sin and receive strength against it by the most Holy Sacrament.¹

CHAP. V

FAINTHEARTEDNESS

Of an error of many, by whom faintheartedness is regarded as a virtue

MANY² deceive themselves also in this, that they attribute to virtue the faintheartedness and disquietude which follows after sin because it is accompanied by some amount of sorrow, not knowing that it is born of secret pride and presumption founded upon confidence in themselves and in their own strength. And since in their self-esteem they have unduly trusted in their own strength, finding by the experience of their fall that it fails them, they are disturbed and surprised as if by some new thing, and become faint-hearted when they see the support destroyed in which they had in vain placed their confidence.

This does not happen to him who is humble, for, trusting in God alone and presuming nothing of himself, when he falls into any kind of fault, although he feels sorry for it, yet he neither disquiets himself about it nor is surprised at it, knowing that all this has happened through his own trouble and the weakness already well known to him by the light of truth.³

¹ The whole of this chapter appears in chapter iii. of Castaniza, and in the edition of 1652 is regarded as part of the original text.

² This chapter forms the concluding section of the explication in chapter iii. of Castaniza in 1652.

³ This chapter forms the closing section of chapter iii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. In the edition of 1652 it is noted as an explication of the original text.

CHAP. VI

PERSEVERANCE

Of other counsels by which we may acquire distrust of ourselves and trust in God

AND¹ because all the strength to overcome our enemies is born chiefly of distrust of ourselves and trust in God, I give you some further counsels that you may gain it with the help of God.

You must know then and hold it firmly that neither all the gifts, whether they be natural or acquired, nor all the graces freely bestowed, nor the knowledge of all the Scripture, nor the fact of having served God for a long while and practised what was due to Him, will make us do His will unless in whatsoever work we have to do which is good and acceptable in His eyes, and in whatsoever temptation we have to overcome, and from whatsoever danger we have to flee, and in whatsoever cross we have to bear in conformity with His will, our heart is helped and raised up by the special aid of God, and unless He stretches out His hand to us to help us to do it.

We ought then through all our life, through all our days, in every hour, and in every moment to have this resolution, for by this means in no way or thought shall we ever be able to trust in ourselves.

And as to that which touches our trust in God, know that it is in no way easier to God to conquer the few than our many enemies, the old and expert as well as the weak and inexperienced.

¹ Absent in Castaniza.

And therefore, whether the soul be laden with sins, whether it have even all the faults in the world, whether it be as imperfect as it is possible to imagine; whether it have been tempted as much as may be, and have taken every means and practice whatsoever to give up sin and do what is good, and yet may never have been able to acquire the smallest good, but may indeed have advanced eagerly in evil: notwithstanding all this it should not fail in its trust in God, nor should it ever give up its arms and spiritual practices, but should always fight valiantly: for it must know that in this spiritual combat he who does not cease from fighting and trusting in God does not lose the help which never fails those who fight for Him, though He sometimes permits them to be wounded: fight, then, for this is the sum of all, since the medicine for the wounds is ready and effectual for those who fight and who look with confidence to God and to His help; and when they least think it, their foes will be found to be dead.¹

CHAP. VII

THE PRACTICE OF THE UNDERSTANDING

Of practice; and first of the understanding, which we ought to keep guarded from ignorance and from curiosity

IF² distrust of ourselves and trust in God, so necessary in this combat, are alone, not only shall we not

¹ This chapter does not appear in the *Spiritual Conflict of Castaniza*.

² The text of chapter iv. in the edition of 1652.

have victory over ourselves, but we shall fall into many evils; and therefore in addition to these there is need of practice, which is the third thing set forth above.¹

This practice has to do chiefly with the understanding and with the will.

As to the understanding, it ought to be guarded by us from the two things which are accustomed to darken it.²

One is ignorance, which darkens it and keeps from it the knowledge of the truth, which is its proper object.³ And therefore by practice it must be rendered bright and clear, that it may be able plainly to see and discern what is needful to purify the soul from inordinate passions and to adorn it with holy virtues.

This light can be obtained in two ways.

The first and most important is prayer, praying the Holy Spirit that He will deign to shed this light upon

¹ Chapter i. The subject of spiritual practice extends from this chapter to chapter xliii., and covers about two-thirds of the whole treatise. The close attention given to this in reference to the struggle for spiritual perfection illustrates the truth of the proverb that "practice makes perfect." This proverb, indeed, might almost form a second motto to the *Spiritual Combat*. Spiritual practice in its various aspects is the subject which is nearest to the heart of the writer. The treatment of the subject, if it lacks the illustrations in the *Devout Life* of St. Francis de Sales and the *Holy Living* of Jeremy Taylor, lays down the fundamental principles of spiritual practice in a way which appeals to the simplest needs of the soldier of Christ in his struggle against sin, the world, and the devil.

² Ephes. iv. 18: "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them."

³ Ephes. iv. 20-21: "But ye have not so learned Christ; if so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus."

our hearts. This¹ He will always do if in truth we seek for God alone and strive to do His holy will, and if in every case we submit our own judgment to that of our spiritual fathers.²

The other way is the continual practice of a deep and loyal consideration of things, to see whether they be good or bad, according as the Holy Spirit teaches, and not as they appear outwardly, as they present themselves to the senses, and as the world judges.

This³ consideration, made as it should be made, teaches us clearly to recognise that all these things which the blind and corrupted world loves and desires and which it procures by various ways and means ought to be held as nothing, as vanity and falsehood; that the honours and favours of the earth are none other than vanity and vexation of spirit;⁴ that the injuries and infamy the world inflicts on us bring to us true glory, and its tribulations contentment;⁵ that to pardon our enemies and do them good is magnanimity and one of the greatest marks of resemblance to

¹ This sentence is wanting in Castaniza.

² St. Francis de Sales in his chapter on "Direction" says: "Place absolute confidence in him (*i.e.* your spiritual father) mingled with a holy reverence, so that reverence do not lessen confidence, nor confidence hinder reverence. Confide in him with the respect of a daughter towards her father, respect him with the confidence of a son towards his mother" (*The Devout Life*, i. 4, p. 33). "Come to me or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's word" (Engl. Prayer Bk., Exhortation to Holy Communion).

³ The explication in the edition of 1652.

⁴ Eccles. ii. 11: "Behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun."

⁵ Rom. v. 3: "We glory in tribulations also." 2 Cor. xi. 30: "If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities."

God; ¹ that it is worth more to despise the world than to be master of it; ² that to obey willingly for the love of God the very meanest of His creatures is more magnanimous and more generous than to have authority over great princes; ³ that a humble knowledge of ourselves ought to be prized more highly than the highest attainment of all the sciences; and that to conquer and mortify our own appetites, however small they may be, is worthy of greater praise than to storm strong cities, to overcome mighty armies in battle, to work miracles, and to raise the dead. ⁴

¹ St. Matt. v. 44: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

² St. John ii. 15: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

³ St. Francis de Sales says of obedience: "Obey in things difficult, rough, and hard, and your obedience will be perfect. Obey, indeed, gently without reply, promptly without delay, gaily without grief, and above all obey lovingly, for the love of Him who for love of us became obedient even to the death of the Cross, and who, as St. Bernard says, loved rather to lose life than obedience" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 11, p. 217).

⁴ This chapter corresponds with the opening sections of chapter iv. of Castaniza. The last paragraph in Scupoli on the true worth of all things when spiritually discerned in the light of the Holy Spirit, is by the English translator of 1652 noted as an explication or enlargement of the original text.

CHAP. VIII

RIGHT JUDGMENT

Of the causes owing to which things are not rightly discerned by us, and of the means which must be taken to know them

THE¹ cause why the above-named things, with many others, are not discerned by us aright is that at their first appearance we attach to them either love or hatred ; by which, the understanding being darkened, it does not rightly judge what they are.

That² this deceit may not be found in you, take care as much as possible always to keep your will purified and free from inordinate affection of any kind.

And when any object happens to be set before you, look at it with the understanding and consider it maturely before you be moved by hatred, if it is something contrary to our natural inclinations, or by love, if it bring you delight, either to desire it or indeed to reject it.

For then the understanding not being encumbered with passions is free and clear, and is able to know the truth and to penetrate to the evil which lies hidden under false pleasing and to the good which is covered by the appearance of evil.

But if the will is first drawn to love the thing or holds it in abhorrence, the understanding cannot well know it ; because the affection which it has placed between darkens it in such a way that it thinks it other

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² The text of 1652.

than it really is, and representing it thus to the will, the will is moved more boldly than before to love it or to hate it against all the orders and laws of reason.

By affection of such a kind the understanding becomes more and more obscured ; and being thus obscured it makes the thing again appear more than ever agreeable or hateful to the will.

And therefore if the rule that I have given is not kept—and it is of the first importance in all this practice—these two powers, the understanding and the will, so noble and excellent in themselves, will always be going round and round as it were from darkness into deeper darkness, and from error into more serious error.

Guard yourself then, my daughter, with all vigilance from every inordinate affection, of whatever kind it be, which has not been carefully examined and recognised by you for what it really is, with the light of the understanding and specially with that of grace and of prayer, and with the judgment of your spiritual father.¹

And this I think you ought to observe sometimes, more than in aught else; in such outward works as are good and holy ; for in these, that they may be such, there is more than in those the danger on our part of deceit and indiscretion.

And therefore, through some circumstance of time, of place, and of degree, or out of respect to obedience, they are able at times to bring you no little harm ; as is known by many who have been in

¹ “ God, who didst teach the hearts of thy faithful people, by the sending to them the light of thy Holy Spirit ; grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgement in all things ” (Engl. Prayer Bk., Collect for Whitsunday).

danger in the midst of praiseworthy and most holy practices.¹

CHAP. IX

INTELLECTUAL PRIDE

Of another thing against which the understanding must be guarded that it may be able to discover aright

THE² other thing against which we have to keep the understanding guarded is curiosity ; for filling it with hurtful, vain, and impertinent thoughts, we render it unskilful and incapable of requiring that which most concerns our true mortification and perfection.

To this end you must be as one altogether dead to every investigation of earthly things which are not necessary though lawful.³

Always restrain your understanding as much as possible, and love to make it poor.⁴

Let the news and changes of the world, both small and great, be to you precisely as if they were not ; and if

¹ This chapter forms the second part of chapter iv. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The first paragraph, as to the causes of wrong judgment, is noted as an enlargement by the translator of 1652. The rest of the chapter in Scupoli corresponds with the text of Castaniza.

² The text of 1652.

³ "Vae eis qui multa curiosa ab hominibus inquirunt, et de via mihi serviendi parum curant" (*De Imitatione Christi*, lib. iii. 43).

⁴ "Quiesce a nimio sciendi desiderio : quia magna ibi invenitur distractio et deceptio" (*ibid.* lib. i. 2).

they are set before you, reject them and drive them far from you.¹

In the desire of knowing the things of heaven, you must be sober and humble, not wishing to know anything but Christ crucified, His life and death and as much as He asks of you.²

Hold all the rest far from you ; for thus will you do much to please God, Who has for His own friends and loved ones those who desire of Him and seek those things which suffice for loving His divine goodness and doing His will. Every other request and inquiry is self-love, pride, and a snare of the devil.

If you will follow these instructions, you will be able to avoid many snares ; for when the cunning serpent sees that in those who strive after the spiritual life the will is valiant and strong, he tries to overthrow their understanding, so that he may become the master both of the understanding and the will.

And therefore he is often accustomed to give them lofty, alert, and curious sentiments, and very largely to those who are quick and of great talents and who are easily lifted up with pride ; for being occupied in the enjoyment and discussion of those points in which they

¹ St. John ii. 15 : "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world." Cp. St. John xvii. 15-16 : "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." There is special need to-day of this spirit of detachment. There is in the world a loss of spiritual force which is due to the neglect of these counsels of perfection in the *Spiritual Combat*.

² "Converte te supra, converte te infra, converte te extra, converte te intra ; et in his omnibus invenies crucem ; et necesse est te ubique tenere patientiam, si internam vis habere pacem, et perpetuam promereri coronam" (*De Imit. Chr.* ii. 12).

falsely persuade themselves that they are rejoicing in God, they forget to purify the heart and to pay attention to the knowledge of themselves and to true mortification. And so having entered into the snare of pride, they make an idol of their own understanding.

From this it follows that little by little, without their perceiving it, they come to think that they have no need of the counsel and instruction of others, being already accustomed to have recourse on every occasion to their idol of self-judgment.

A matter of grave peril this, and very difficult to cure, because the pride of the understanding is more dangerous than the pride of the will; for when the pride of the will is manifest to our own understanding it can easily be cured by obedience where it is due; but by whom and how will he be healed who has a firm conviction that his own opinion is better than that of others? How will he subject himself to the judgment of others who thinks nothing so good as his own?

If the eye of the soul, which is the understanding, by which the wound of the proud will must be known and purified, is weak and blind and full of pride itself, who will be able to cure it?¹

And if the light become darkness, and the rule fail, what will come of the rest?²

For this reason you should resist so perilous a pride betimes, before it penetrates to the marrow of your bones.³

Blunt the sharpness of your understanding, submit

¹ St. Matt. vi. 22: "The light of the body is the eye."

² St. Matt. vi. 23: "If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

³ 1 Cor. viii. 1-2: "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. And if any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know."

your own opinion readily to that of others; become a fool for the love of God¹ and you will be wiser than Solomon.²

CHAP. X

THE PRACTICE OF THE WILL

Of the practice of the will; and of the end to which all actions, both inward and outward, are to be directed

BESIDES³ the practice which you have to accomplish with regard to the understanding, you need so to regulate the will that, being detached from its own desires, it should altogether become conformed to the good pleasure of God.

And observe well that this alone must not be sufficient for you, that you should wish for and obtain the things which are most pleasing to God; but still more you must wish for them and do them both as if

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 18-19: "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

² This chapter corresponds exactly with the closing sections of chapter iv. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The whole of it is ascribed by the English translator to the original text. It is dependent to some extent on the teaching of St. Thomas: "Quanquam veritatis cognitio per se vitiosa non sit, sed per accidens, quo videlicet eam peccatum superbiæ sequitur, appetitus tamen assequendæ cognitionis variis modis inordinatus ac vitiosus esse potest" (*S. Thom. Summa. P. ii. 2, Qu. clxvii. Art. i.*). "Curiositas, vel studiositas circa sensibilia cognoscenda inutiliter, sive in animi nocumentum, vitiosa est" (*ibid. Art. ii.*).

³ The text of chapter v. in the edition of 1652.

you were moved by Him and for the purpose simply of pleasing Him.

In this indeed, more than in what has already been said, we have a great conflict with nature, which is so inclined to itself that in all things, and more at times in things which are good and spiritual than in others, it seeks its own convenience and pleasure.¹ And in these things it takes an interest, and devours them greedily, as if they were food altogether beyond suspicion.

And therefore when they are presented to us, we at once fix our eyes upon them and wish for them, not as moved by the will of God, nor for the purpose only of pleasing Him, but for the benefit and satisfaction which springs from wishing for the things which are wished for by God.

And² this snare is the more hidden, the more the thing wished for is of itself good. And therefore even in the desire for God Himself there are usually snares of self-love, since we frequently look more to our own interest and to the benefit we expect from it than to the will of God, whose good pleasure and will it is to be loved, desired, and obeyed by us for His own glory alone.³

¹ Dr Pusey notes : "That is, in spiritual things there is the greater danger of seeking self, not God, because people dread no danger in *them*, as being in *themselves* good" (*The Spiritual Combat*, 5th ed. 1857, p. 22).

² This and the first part of the next paragraph are wanting in Castaniza.

³ The writer sees clearly the danger of what has been termed "the hedonistic hunger," which lies at the root of all utilitarianism in ethics and in religion. Dr Martineau analyses the process of the "instinctive springs of action." "At the outset they dart upon their objects with no ulterior aim, but fascinated by them alone, they know not why. It is with a disinterested eagerness, therefore, that they start. But no sooner have we, under their influence, tasted the resultant pleasure than we become affected with a

To guard yourself against this snare which would embarrass you in the way of perfection, and to accustom yourself to will and do all as if you were moved by God and with the simple intention of honouring and satisfying Him alone (which He wishes to be the one beginning and end of our every thought and action), you will adopt this means: When¹ anything which is willed by God presents itself to you, do not incline the will to wish for it until you have first lifted up your mind to God to see that it is His will that you should wish it, and simply for His own good pleasure.

Thus let your will, being moved and drawn by His will, lay itself out to will it as being willed by God and willed for His good pleasure and honour alone.

desire of its repetition; so that this, in its turn, becomes converted into a *motive pleasure* which in future blends more or less with the recurring impulse, and detracts from its disinterestedness. If the modification goes on unchecked, the primary spring is replaced by its secondary, and we lapse into complete self-interest. Thus of the two types of pleasure, the one may begin, and the other may end in self-love. And if we were surrendered, without *moral* element of feeling, or under its silence, to our more natural psychology, this would be the normal result. But the descent into the self-conscious pursuit of resultant pleasure is arrested by the intervention of the sense of right, of inward deference to the higher claim. In every conflict of concurrent impulses this knowledge is given, and an attendant feeling is awakened, which powerfully reinforces the affections as against the personal interest, and lifts Love to the pedestal of duty, and sinks self-love into self-contempt" (Dr Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 324-325). The author of the *Spiritual Combat* is as conscious as the author of the *Types of Ethical Theory* of this conflict, and agrees with him in "lifting Love to the pedestal of duty." To this end he sets forth the ruling motive of the greater glory of God. *Cp.* 1 Cor. x. 31: "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

¹ The text of 1652.

Likewise, when you wish to refuse the things which are not willed by God, do not refuse them until you have first fixed the regard of the understanding on His divine will, which wishes that you refuse them so as to please Him.

But you must know that the deceits of our subtle nature are little known; for being always secretly self-seeking, it often leads us to think that the motive and purpose of pleasing God is in ourselves: but this is not so. And therefore it frequently happens that what is wished for or not wished for in our own interest, seems to be wished for or not wished for by us for the purpose of pleasing or not pleasing God.

To¹ flee from this snare, the proper and familiar remedy should be purity of heart.² This consists, as the whole of this combat is intended to prove, in our putting off the old man and putting on the new.³

Indeed⁴ to provide yourself with means, since you are full of yourself, in the beginning of your actions take care to divest yourself as much as possible of every mixed motive which you may think is the spring of your own, and do not wish or work or refuse anything unless you feel moved and drawn by the pure and simple will of God.

If in all these operations, and particularly in those which are within the soul and in those outward ones

¹ This paragraph is absent from Castaniza.

² St. Matt. v. 8: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." *Cp. De Imit. Chr.* ii. 4: "Cor purum penetrat cœlum et infernum." "Simplicitas intendit Deum, puritas apprehendit et gustat." This indeed is the true remedy for the "hunger for hedonism."

³ Col. iii 9-10: "Ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him."

⁴ The text of 1652.

which quickly pass, you are not always able thus actually to feel this motive, content yourself with having it virtually in each operation, having always a true intention of wholly pleasing God alone.

But in actions which continue some space of time, not only in the beginning is it well that you should stir up this motive within you, but you should be careful to renew it again and again, and to keep it awake until the end ; for otherwise there would be the danger of falling into another snare, that indeed of our natural love, which being more inclined and pliant towards itself than towards God, is often accustomed as time passes to lead us imprudently¹ to change our objects and alter our aims.

The servant of God who is not carefully advised as to this, very often begins to work something with the thought only of pleasing his Lord ; but then as it were little by little, as if not himself conscious of it, he takes so much pleasure in the work of his own proper understanding that, being forgetful of the will of God, he turns back and attaches himself in such a way to the delight he feels in it and to the usefulness and honour which can come to him from it, that if God Himself should put a stop to the work by some weakness or accident or by means of some creature, he would become altogether disturbed and disquieted ; and would sometimes give way to murmuring about this thing or that, not to say even sometimes about God Himself. A sign this sufficiently clear that his intention was not altogether of God, but was born from a ruined and corrupted root and foundation.

For² he who is moved as if moved by God and for the purpose of pleasing Him alone, does not wish one

¹ “Inavvedutamente” : perhaps “unconsciously.”

² The enlargement in 1652.

thing more than another, but wishes solely to have it if it is pleasing to God that he should have it, and in the manner and at the time which is acceptable to Him ; and whether he have it or not, he is equally calm and content ; since in any way he follows out his purpose and attains his end, which is none other than the good pleasure of God.

And therefore be indeed mindful of yourself, and take care always to direct your actions to this perfect end.

And if sometimes, when you are thus searching into the dispositions of your soul, you should be moved to work what is good so as to avoid the pains of hell or to have the hope of paradise,¹ you can in this still propose to yourself as the final end the good pleasure and will of God, to Whom it is a pleasure that you should not go to hell but should enter into His kingdom.²

How much this motive may have of force and of virtue no one can fully know ; since one thing, however lowly and small it be, done for the purpose of pleasing God only and for His glory, is worth, so to say, infinitely more than many others of the very greatest value and worth which may be done without this motive.

¹ This thought is expressed in the hymn ascribed to St. Francis Xavier :

“ My God, I love Thee ; not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love Thee not
Are lost eternally.

“ Not from the hope of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward ;
But as Thyself hast loved me,
O ever-loving Lord.”

(*Hymns A. and M.*, No. 106.)

² Ezek. xviii. 32 : “ For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God : wherefore turn yourselves and live ye.”

And therefore a single penny given to a poor man for the sole purpose of pleasing His divine Majesty is more grateful to Him than if with the other intention, even of enjoying the good things of heaven (which is an end not only good but most highly desirable), anyone should deprive himself of all his property, however large it might be.

This practice of wholly working for the purpose simply of pleasing God will appear difficult at first, but it will become smooth and easy by use and by many times desiring God Himself and aspiring to Him with lively affections of the heart, as to our most perfect and unique good, Who for Himself merits that all creatures seek after Him and serve Him and love Him above everything else.

And this consideration of His infinite merit, the more deeply and more frequently it is done, the more fervent and more frequent will be the aforesaid acts of the will; and so with greater ease and more quickly shall we come to acquire the habit of doing every work out of regard and love for the Lord, Who alone is worthy of it.

Lastly, if you would gain this divine motive, besides what I have already said, I advise you to ask it of God with continual prayer, and frequently to consider the innumerable benefits which God has given us, and given us always of His love alone and without any interest to Himself.¹

¹ The greater portion of this chapter appears in chapter v. of Castaniza. The paragraphs near the beginning which treat of the very desire for God Himself being spoiled by self-love, are absent from it. The text, according to the analysis of 1652, ends with the caution on the right intention addressed to the "servant of God." The latter portion in Scupoli corresponds with the enlargement in Castaniza.

CHAP. XI

THE LOVING-KINDNESS OF GOD

*Of other considerations which determine the will to wish
in everything the good pleasure of God*

FURTHER,¹ to determine your will with greater ease to will in all things the good pleasure of God and His honour, remember again and again that He has first of all in many ways honoured you and loved you.²

In creation, He created you out of nothing in His likeness, and all other creatures for your service.³

In redemption, He sent no angel but His only-begotten Son to redeem us, not with the corruptible price of gold and of silver, but with His own precious blood, and with His own painful and shameful death.⁴

¹ The enlargement of chapter v. in 1652.

² 1 St. John iv. 19: "We love him because he first loved us."

³ Gen. i. 26: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion." St. Thomas Aquinas discusses the question as to how far God created man out of nothing, and draws the conclusion: "Creare est in ex nihilo aliquid facere." He gives the reason: "Respondeo dicendum, quod non solum oportet considerare emanationem alicujus entis particularis ab aliquo particulari agente, sed etiam emanationem totius entis a causa universalis, quæ est Deus, et hanc quidem emanationem designamus nomine creationis. . . . Sicut si generatur homo, non fuit prius homo, sed homo fit ex non homine, et album ex non albo. . . . Sicut igitur generatio hominis est ex non ente, quod est non homo: ita creatio quæ est emanatio totius esse, est ex non ente: quod est nihil" (*S. Thom. Aq. Summa. Pt. i. Qu. xlvi. A. i.*). The phrase "ex nihilo" does not appear, therefore, to exclude the process of evolution in creation.

⁴ Heb. ii. 16: "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham." 1 Pet. i.

And that every hour, even every moment, He keeps you safe from your enemies, fights for you with His grace, continually holds His beloved Son ready to be your defence and sustenance in the Sacrament of the altar—is not this a sign of the inestimable consideration and love which the Infinite God bears towards you? So great indeed is it that no one can possibly understand how great account so great a Lord takes of us poor creatures, of our misery, and that, on the other hand, which we ought to do for His great Name's sake Who has done so many and so great things for us.

For if earthly lords, when they are honoured by persons who are but poor and lowly, feel themselves indeed in every way obliged to show them honour; what honour ought we in our wretchedness to do the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth¹ by Whom we are seen to be so highly valued and held so dear?

And in addition to this, above everything keep always in your memory that the Majesty of God of itself is infinitely worthy of being honoured and served simply for His own good pleasure.²

18-19: "Ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold . . . but with the precious blood of Christ."

¹ "Col supremo Re dell' universo."

² The whole of this chapter with the exception of the last paragraph forms the conclusion of chapter v. of Castaniza, and is marked as enlargement in the edition of 1652. The chapter is dependent on the *De Imitatione*: "Da mihi intelligere voluntatem tuam, et cum magna reverentia ac diligentia consideratione, beneficia tua, tam in generali quam in speciali memorari: ut digna tibi ex hinc valeam gratias referre." . . . "Nam voluntas tua, et amor honoris tui, omnia excedere debet; et plus eum consolari, magisque placere, quam omnia beneficia sibi data vel danda" (*De Imit. Chr.* lib. iii. c. 22).

CHAP. XII

THE WARFARE OF THE WILLS

*Of the many wills there are in man and of the warfare
they have among themselves*

ALTHOUGH¹ it may be said in this combat that there are in us two wills,² the one of the reason, called therefore the reasonable and higher will; the other of the sense, which is called lower and sensual, and is usually distinguished by the names appetite, flesh, sense, and passion;³ nevertheless, since we are men on account of our reason,⁴ when we wish for anything by the sense alone it is not understood that anything is ever really willed of ourselves except so far as we are inclined to will it by our higher will.⁵

¹ The text of chapter vi. in the edition of 1652.

² Rom. vii. 23: "But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."

³ St. Bernard speaks of the will as being placed between the Divine Spirit in us and the carnal appetite: "Inter quem ubique divinum spiritum, et carnis appetitum, tenet medium quedam locum id quod dicitur in homine liberum arbitrium, id est humana voluntas" (S. Bern. *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, xii. 41, Tom. i. p. 619).

⁴ This is expressed by St. Thomas: "Sed ratio, quæ est propria hominis, qua animal rationabile dicitur, est alia potentia a sensu" (S. Thom. *Summ.* i. Qu. lxxix. A. viii.).

⁵ St. Francis de Sales refers to this in his teaching on temptation: "But as to the delight which can follow the temptation, inasmuch as we have two parts in one soul, the one inferior, the other superior, and as the inferior does not always follow the superior, but acts apart for itself, it frequently happens that the inferior part finds pleasure in the temptation without the consent, even against the will of the superior" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 3, p. 360).

And therefore the whole of our spiritual combat consists chiefly in this, that the reasonable will being placed as it were in the midst between the divine will which is above it,¹ and the lower will which is that of sense, is continually attacked by the one and the other, whilst each of them tries to draw it and to make it subject and obedient to itself.

But those who have formed evil habits experience great pain and hardship, especially at the beginning, when they determine to change their wicked life for the better, and when they disengage themselves from the world and the flesh and devote themselves to the love and service of Jesus Christ.

For the blows which the higher will sustains from the divine will and from the sensual, which are always fighting it within themselves, are powerful and strong and make themselves felt indeed not without serious pain.

This does not happen to those who have already formed habits of virtue and of vice, and indeed intend to persist in them ; for the virtuous easily consent to the will of God, the vicious bow themselves without a struggle to that of the sense.²

But let no one presume to think that he is able to follow the true Christian virtues, and to serve God as is fitting, unless he wish really to do violence to himself and to bear the pain which is felt in renouncing not only the greater but also the little faults to which he has first been attached by earthly affection.

And from this it happens that very few reach the goal of perfection ; for after having with great toil overcome the greater vices, they do not afterwards

¹ The “divinum spiritum” of St. Bernard (*De Grat. et Lib. Arbit.* xii. 41, Tom. i. p. 619).

² These latter live in a condition of false peace due to the hardening of the conscience.

wish to do violence to themselves, and continue to suffer the sorrows and trouble which is experienced in resisting an almost infinite number of whims and passions of less account, which still holding their place in them, at last acquire dominion and mastery over their hearts.

Amongst¹ these are some who, if they do not take away what belongs to others, are too much attached to the goods which they justly possess; if they do not gain honours by unlawful means, yet they do not dislike them as they should, nor cease from desiring them and sometimes from seeking them by other different ways; if they observe the fasts of obligation, they do not by this means mortify their gluttony in the matter of eating too much and craving after delicate food; and though they live continently they do not detach themselves from indulgences in pleasure, which form a great hindrance to union with God and to the spiritual life; and, further, these whims and passions being very dangerous to any person, however holy he may be, and the more so to those who fear them least, they are to be avoided by each one as much as possible.²

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² St. Francis de Sales enlarges on this special danger in the chapter on "Small Temptations": "It is very easy not to steal the property of another, but hard not to aim at and covet it; very easy not to bear false witness in the court, but hard not to lie in intercourse with others; very easy not to be drunk, but hard to be sober; very easy not to desire another's death, but hard not to desire his discomfiture; very easy not to defame him, but hard not to despise him. In short, these small temptations to anger, suspicion, jealousy, envy, wanton love, frolicking, vanity, duplicity, affectation, cunning, immodest thoughts, are the continual exercise of those very people who are the most devout and resolute" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 8, p. 371). The treatment of the subject by St. Francis is a good example of the manner in which he brought home the principles of the *Spiritual Combat* to the test of everyday experience.

From these things also it happens that their good works are done in a lukewarm spirit, and accompanied by many interests and hidden imperfections, and by a certain amount of self-esteem and a desire of being praised and thought highly of by the world.

Those who are in this state, not only do not make progress in the way of salvation, but turning backwards they run the risk of falling into their former sins, because they do not love the true virtue and show themselves but little grateful to the Lord Who has delivered them from the tyranny of the devil; and besides this they are ignorant and blind to the danger in which they stand, whilst they persuade themselves falsely that they are in a condition as good as secure.

And¹ here is seen a snare the more dangerous as it is the less heeded; for many who give themselves to the spiritual life, being lovers of themselves more than they ought, even if in reality they do not know that they love themselves, choose with preference those practices which most accord with their taste, and neglect others which touch to the quick their own natural inclination and their sensual appetites, and against which it would be in keeping with all reason that all the efforts of the combat should be turned. And therefore, my dear daughter, I urge you and exhort you to be enamoured of the difficulty and the pain which carries victory with it, for in this is the whole matter; and the victory will be the more certain and quick the more strongly you are enamoured of the difficulties which virtue and war show to those who begin; and if you be a lover of the difficulty and the

¹ The text of 1652.

painful struggle rather than of victories and virtues the more quickly you will gain everything.¹

CHAP. XIII

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PASSIONS

*Of the method of fighting against the motions of the senses,
and of the acts which the will must accomplish to
acquire the habits of virtue*

WHENEVER² your reasonable will is attacked by that of the sense on the one side, and by the divine will on the other, whilst each one seeks to gain the palm, if the divine will is altogether to prevail in you, you must discipline yourself in many ways.

First, When you are assaulted and attacked by the motions of the senses you must offer a valiant resistance, that the higher will may not assent to them.

Secondly, When they are over, stir them anew in yourself, that you may repress them with greater impetuosity and force.

And then summon them to a third contest, in which you will accustom yourself to drive them away from you with disdain and abhorrence.

And these two challenges to battle must be given in every case of inordinate appetite, except in the goads and temptations of the flesh, of which we shall treat in their own place.

¹ The whole of this chapter appears in chapter vi. of Castaniza. The text ascribed in 1652 to Castaniza consists of the first seven paragraphs of Scupoli and the last. The paragraphs on the few who reach the goal of perfection are regarded as an enlargement of the text.

² The text of chapter vii. in the edition of 1652.

Lastly, You must do acts contrary to each one of your vicious passions.¹

By the following example the whole will be made more clear to you.

You are perhaps attacked by the motions of impatience ; if you look very carefully within yourself, you will feel that they are continually fighting against the higher will that it may bend and assent to them.

Do not ever desist from this struggle until you see that your enemy, wearied out and as good as dead, acknowledges himself vanquished.²

¹ St. Francis gives the same counsel : "When we are assaulted by some vice, we ought as far as possible to embrace the practice of the opposite virtue, referring the others to this. For by this means we shall conquer our enemy, and shall not fail to progress in all virtues. If I am assaulted by pride or by anger, I must in everything lean and bend towards the side of humility and gentleness. And to do this I must give myself to the other exercises of prayer, sacraments, prudence, constancy, sobriety" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 1, p. 167).

² Dr Pusey has an important note on the "Challenge of the Passions" : "As feelings are strengthened by being indulged or acted upon, so they are deadened by being rejected. Our power over our feelings is by acts. It matters not how often we be assaulted by wrong feelings, so that we do not consent to them. The assaults are then but occasions of victory. God almost always allows those who have yielded repeatedly to any sin, to be assaulted by thoughts of it, after they have quitted it. They thus come to hate it more thoroughly than they would if they were not tormented with it. Scupoli's advice here is to the same end. We then see the folly of any passion when we are not immediately tempted to it from without. Pride, vanity, anger, seem foolish as well as sinful, when we are not under the outward temptation. Scupoli advises, then, not simply to put down the feeling, but to put it down with a strong hand ; not simply to reject it, but to repel it with a detestation and heartily. When then the assault is over, he would have us summon ourselves again before ourselves, picture ourselves to our-

But behold, my daughter, the malice of the devil ! When he sees that we are bravely resisting the motions of any passion, not only does he cease to stir them up in us, but when they are aroused he tries at once to appease them, that by practice we may not acquire the habit of virtue contrary to this passion ; and further than this, that we may fall into the snares of vainglory and pride, by dexterously leading us indeed to think we have as valiant soldiers so soon trodden down our enemies.

Therefore you will pass to the second conflict, calling to your memory and stirring up within you those thoughts which have caused you impatience, so that you may feel yourself affected by them in your sensitive faculty ; and then, with repeated efforts of will and greater determination than before, repress these motions in themselves.

And because, however much we may resist our enemies, since we know how to do what is right and to please God, by not having them wholly in detestation we often run the risk of being overcome by them another time ; for this reason you must attack them again in a third assault, and drive them far from you with efforts of will not only repugnant but scornful, until they become hateful and abominable.

selves, when the mind is free and self-possessed, and so heartily reject and detest the feeling whereby we have been assaulted. As the Spartans taught their sons to hate drunkenness by the sight of their drunken slaves, so he would have us, when we have gained the mastery over ourselves, summon our lower self again before ourselves, in order to reject it. . . . Scupoli's advice is how to improve the victory to the utmost. This is wholly different from placing ourselves in imaginary circumstances, and thinking how we should then act ; whereby people often deceive or distress themselves : since we cannot picture to ourselves the strength of temptation or of the grace of God" (*The Spiritual Combat*, 5th ed., London, Parker, 1857, p. 32).

Finally, to adorn and perfect your soul with the habits of virtue, you must cultivate inward acts which may be directly contrary to your disordered passions.

So when you wish to acquire perfectly the habit of patience, if anyone by insulting you gives occasion for impatience, it is not sufficient that you should practise the three methods of conflict of which I have spoken, but you ought besides to wish for and love the insult received, desiring again to be affronted in the same manner and by the same person, waiting and determining to bear things still more serious.

The cause¹ why such contrary acts are necessary to perfect us in the virtues is that otherwise the other acts, however many and strong they may be, are not sufficient to extirpate the roots which produce the vice.

And therefore, to go on with the same example, although when insulted we do not give way to the motions of impatience, but on the contrary fight them in the three ways shown above, nevertheless if we are not careful by many and frequent acts to hold the insult dear and to rejoice in it, we shall never free ourselves from the vice of impatience which, through our leaning to self-esteem, is founded upon a dislike to insult.

And as long as the vicious root is alive, it is always springing up in such a way as to make the virtue languid, and indeed at times chokes it altogether, besides keeping us in continual danger of falling back on every occasion which presents itself to us.

And from such things it follows that without the said contrary acts we cannot ever acquire the true habits of virtue.

And, moreover, it may be noticed that such acts as

¹ The enlargement in 1652.

these must be done so frequently and in such numbers that they may be able entirely to destroy the vicious habit; and just as this has taken possession of our heart by many acts of vice, so it must be uprooted from it by many contrary acts to introduce in it the virtuous habit.

And I say even more than this, that more good acts are needed to form the virtuous habit, since they are not like these aided by a nature corrupted by sin.

In addition to that which has already been said, I would add that, if the virtue you are at present practising so demand it, you must also form outward acts in conformity with the inward, such as (to keep to the said example) using words of meekness and love and pleasing if you can to whoever has been tiresome and hurtful to you in any way.

And¹ although these acts, whether inward or outward, should be or should appear to be accompanied by so great a weakness of spirit that you seem to perform them quite against your will, yet you must not by any means leave them off, for, however weak they may be, they keep you firm and steadfast in the conflict and assist you along the road to victory.

And be well advised and resolute in yourself to fight not only against the strong and overpowering desires of each passion, but also against those desires which are small and slow in their action, for these open the way to the great desires from whence indeed vicious habits are produced in us.

And from the little care that some have taken to root out of their hearts these little desires, after having overcome the larger ones of the same passion, it has happened to them that when they least expect it they

¹ The text of 1652.

have been assaulted and conquered by the same enemies more fiercely and ruinously than before.

Moreover, I would remind you to be careful to mortify and break at times your own desires even in things which are lawful but not necessary,¹ for from this many benefits will follow, and you will become always more disposed and ready to conquer yourself in other desires, you will make yourself strong and skilful in the battle against temptations, you will avoid many snares of the devil, and you will do what is most acceptable to the Lord.

My daughter, I would speak plainly to you ; if after the manner I have shown you, you persevere in these loyal and holy practices for the reformation and conquest of yourself, I assure you that in a little time you will make great progress, and will become spiritual in deed and not in name only : but in any other manner and with other practices, though they may be excellent in your own estimation and so pleasant to your taste that you seem to be quite taken up with them and in sweet communion with the Lord, do not think you will ever gain virtue and the true spirit. This, as I have told you in the first chapter, does not consist in and does not spring from practices which are pleasant and agreeable to our nature, but from those which set it on the cross with all its acts, and when a man is thus renewed by means of the habit of evangelical virtue, they unite him with his Crucified Lord and Creator.

Nor is there anyone who doubts that as the vicious habits increase by many and repeated acts of

¹ St. Francis de Sales gives the same counsel : "Cut yourself off as much as you can from useless and superfluous delights, though they be lawful and permissible" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 12, p. 221).

the higher will when it yields to the appetites of the senses, so, on the contrary, the habits of evangelical virtue are acquired by doing over and over again acts agreeable to the divine will, by which we are called now to this virtue, and now to the other.

For as our will can never be vicious and earthly, however much it may be assaulted by the lower will and by vice, unless it yields too far and inclines itself to this lower will; so it will never be virtuous and united to God, however strongly it be called, summoned, and attacked by inspirations and by divine grace, if by inward acts and by outward acts when there is need of them, it does not conform to this grace.¹

¹ This chapter corresponds with chapter vii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The original text, according to the edition of 1652, extends from the opening paragraph to that in which the formation of the habit of patience is said to be encouraged by the practice of "working for and loving the insults received." It is taken up again with the advice to persevere if we would be "assisted along the road to victory." The warnings repeated between these two sections of the text are regarded as the enlargements. Thus paragraphs 1-15 are the text, paragraphs 16-22 are enlargement, paragraphs 23-29 are the text again.

The following note of Canon Bodington's is worthy of consideration:—

"The saints have their own ways of conquering temptations. For ordinary people, my impression is that it would be safer to say:

Secondly, "When the assaults have ceased, *watch and pray*; be ready to meet them when they come again, and meet them with renewed force and vigour. If they come a third and fourth time, let them find you clothed with the whole armour of God, ready to repel them with strong resistance and abhorrence. All challenges to battle made by the unruly appetites should be met as David met Goliath, the uncircumcised Philistine, except in the case of temptations of the flesh, concerning which we will speak in their place.

"It seems to me dangerous to advise ordinary Christians

CHAP. XIV

STEADFASTNESS OF PURPOSE

What must be done when the higher will appears altogether vanquished and choked by the lower will and by its enemies

AND¹ if at times it would appear to you that your higher will is powerless against the lower will and its enemies, because you do not feel in yourself an effectual desire against them : be steadfast and do not give up the fight, because you must always hold yourself victorious as long as you do not openly perceive yourself to have yielded.

For as our higher will has no need of the lower desires to produce its own acts ; so if itself it is not willing, it can never be forced to surrender to them as if conquered, however hardly they may attack it.

For God has endowed our will with such freedom and strength, that if all the senses, with all the devils and the world together were to arm themselves and unite against it, fighting against it and pressing it with all their effort, yet in spite of these it can with the very greatest freedom will and not will all that it

to challenge sense impulses. The safest counsel is that of St. Paul (Ephes. vi. 10-18) : ‘Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil, . . . praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints.’ Of course, temptations to impurity are best met by flight. *Flee fornication. Flee youthful lusts. Joseph fled and got him out.*’

¹ The text of chapter viii. of 1652.

wishes or does not wish, and as often, and as long, and in the way and to the end it most desires.

And if at times these enemies assault you and press you with so much violence that your will, as if it were choked, has not, so to say, breath to produce any act of desires contrary to them, do not lose courage, nor throw down your arms on the ground, but make use in this case of the tongue, and defend yourself, saying, "I do not yield to thee, I do not wish thee"; like a man when he has an enemy on his back, who is holding him down, since he is not able to strike him with the point, strikes him with the pommel of his sword.

And just as such a man tries to jump back that he may be able to strike with the point, so you must draw back in the knowledge of yourself, that you are nothing and can do nothing, and with trust in God, Who can do everything, strike a blow at the hostile passion, saying: "Help me, O Lord! help me, O my God! help me, O Jesus! Mary! that I may not yield to it!"

You will also be able, when the enemy gives you time, to help the weakness of the will by having recourse to the understanding, thinking over different points, by the consideration of which the will may have time to take breath and regain its strength against its foes. For example:

You are, it may be, in some persecution or some other trouble, so assaulted by impatience that your will seems to be unable or at least unwilling to endure it; you will then comfort it by running over the following points, or indeed others, with the understanding.

First, Consider whether you deserve the evil you are suffering by giving occasion for it; for if you deserve it, every obligation of justice wills you to endure patiently the wound which you have inflicted upon yourself with your own hand.

Secondly, If you are not in any way to blame for it, turn your thought to your other faults, for which God has not yet chastised you, and which you have not punished as you ought. And if you see that the mercy of God has changed the punishment of them, which should be eternal, or it may be temporal¹ though in purgatory, for a small punishment at the present time, you ought to receive it not only willingly but with thanksgiving.

Thirdly, And if it should seem to you that you have done much penance, and have committed but a slight offence against the Divine Majesty (things, however, which you should never believe), you must remember that no one enters into the heavenly kingdom but through the narrow gate of tribulation.²

Fourthly, That however much you might be able to enter it by another way, yet by the law of love you should not even think of it, since the Son of God with all His friends and members entered by means of thorns and crosses.

Fifthly, That which you have to aim at chiefly in this and every other occasion is the will of your God, Who, for the love which He bears you, takes unspeakable pleasure in any act of virtue and mortification which He sees you do, as His faithful and brave soldier, that you may respond in love to Him. And take it for

¹ “Est enim teterimus et obscurissimus carcer, ubi perpetuo et inexstinguibili igne damnatorum animæ simul cum immundis spiritibus torquentur, qui etiam gehenna abyssus, et propria significatione infernus vocatur. Præterea est purgatorius ignis quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit, in quam nihil coquinatum ingreditur” (*Catechismus ex decr. Conc. Trid. P. i. c. vi. 3*).

² St. Matt. vii. 14: “Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.”

certain that the more unreasonable the labour is in itself and the more of indignity it has from the quarter from which it comes, and therefore the more troublesome and heavy for you to bear, so much the more pleasure will it give to the Lord, if, in things disordered in themselves and the more bitter for you, you approve of and love the divine will and intention, in which every event, however irregular it may be, has its most perfect rule and order.¹

CHAP. XV

BOLDNESS OF SPIRIT

Some counsels with regard to the method of fighting, and especially against whom and with what courage we must do it

YOU² have already seen, my daughter, the method in which you must fight to conquer yourself and to adorn yourself with the virtues.³

Know then, further, that to gain the victory over your enemies with greater speed and facility it is fitting that you should fight, rather it is necessary that you should fight every day, specially against self-love, accustoming yourself to recognise as dear friends the insults and unpleasantness which the world is ever ready to show you.⁴

¹ This chapter corresponds with chapter viii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

² Some portions of this chapter are embodied in the concluding chapter of Castaniza.

³ Cp. the opening words of Castaniza, ch. ix. text

⁴ Cp. Castaniza, ch. ix. text.

And by not giving heed to this conflict, and by taking it too little into account, it has happened and does happen (as I have touched upon above) that the victories are difficult, few, imperfect, and uncertain.

Further, I warn you that your combat must be maintained with boldness of spirit, which you will easily acquire if you ask it of God: if, when you consider the rage and immortal hatred of your enemies, and the great number of their troops and armies, you will consider, on the other hand, that the goodness of God and the love in which He holds you is infinitely greater, and how far more mighty are the angels of heaven and the prayers of the saints who are fighting on our side.¹

And from this consideration it has resulted that so very many poor, weak women² have overcome and conquered all the power and wisdom of the world, all the assaults of the flesh, all the rage of hell.

And³ therefore you must never be afraid, although at times it may appear to you that the attack of your enemies grows stronger and seems as if it would last your whole lifetime, and that almost certain falls threaten you from different sides; because you must know, besides what has already been said, that all the strength and knowledge of our enemies is in the hands of our divine Captain for Whose honour we fight; Who, since He values us beyond words, and Himself calls us earnestly to the combat, not only will never allow you to be overcome, but, Himself fighting for you, He will give you victory when it pleases Him, and with greater

¹ St. Matt. xxvi. 53: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?"

² "Femminucce."

³ Castaniza, ch. xl. 4, text.

gain to yourself when He puts it off to the last day of your life.¹

This only concerns you, that you should fight manfully,² and that if it should frequently happen that you are wounded, never lay down your arms, and never take to flight.³

Lastly, that you may fight bravely you must know that you can never flee from this conflict, and that he who does not fight in it, must of necessity be either taken or killed.⁴

Further, we have to do with enemies of such character and so full of hatred that we cannot in any way hope for peace or truce⁵ with them.⁶

¹ This greater gain is only promised to those who struggle to the end. *Cp.* Heb. iii. 14: "Stedfast unto the end."

² "Generosamente": "and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end" (*Eng. Baptism Service*).

³ Castaniza, ch. xl. 3 a, text.

⁴ Castaniza, ch. xl. 3 b, text.

⁵ Castaniza, ch. xl. 3 c, text.

⁶ The earlier portions of this chapter are parallel with the counsels given in chapter ix. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The concluding portions form the chief part of chapter xl. of Castaniza. There is one section in chapter ix. in Castaniza which seems to be a note of warning with regard to the method of challenge set forth in chapter xiii.: "And yet a young and inexperienced soldier in this spiritual conflict must warily enter the list to wage this war with wicked thoughts. Therefore I counsel him sometimes to oppose them, at other times to exchange them for others, according as he perceives this or that way best profits him in the acquisition of virtues; but never so to fly from them and totally leave them as to seek to be quit of all trouble and irksomeness which thence ariseth. For though by the flight he cuts off the occasion of impatience, yet he gets no strength or constancy of heart against the next rising motions thereof. . . . This way of warring is very profitable, not only

CHAP. XVI

THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE

In what way in early morning the soldier of Christ ought to take the field

AS¹ soon as you are awake, the first thing your eyes within must take note of is that you should see that you are in lists which are closed, subject to this law, that whosoever does not fight in them will remain dead in them for ever.

And within these lists you will imagine that you see before you, on one side, that enemy, your own evil inclination, which you have already undertaken to overthrow, armed in readiness to wound you and to put you to death; and on the right side your victorious Captain, Christ Jesus, with His most holy Mother, the Virgin Mary, together with her most dear husband Joseph, with many hosts of angels and saints, and specially St. Michael the Archangel; and on the left side the infernal Devil, with his host, to stir up this passion of yours already mentioned, persuading you to yield to it.² against impatience, but all other imperfections except those of sensuality, of which we shall treat hereafter" (*The Spiritual Conflict*, ed. Vaughan, London, 1874, p. 46).

The following brief counsels of the *Imitatio* are in part the inspiration of this chapter:—"Esto itaque expeditus ad pugnam, si vis habere victoriam. Sine certamine, non potes venire ad patientiæ coronam. Si pati non vis, recusas coronari. Si autem coronari desideras, certa viriliter, sustine patienter. Sine labore, non tenditur ad requiem: nec sine pugna, pervenitur ad victoriam" (*De Imit. Chr.* iii. 19).

¹ Wanting in Castaniza.

² St. Francis de Sales draws a similar picture in his "Meditation on the Election and Choice which the Soul makes of the Devout Life" (*The Devout Life*, i. 18, p. 69).

Then you will seem to hear a voice, as of your guardian angel, who is thus speaking to you :

You must to-day fight against this and your other enemies. Let not your heart be afraid, and do not lose courage ; do not yield on any account either for fear or for any other cause, for our Lord, your Captain, is here with you with all His glorious hosts, and He will fight with all your enemies, and will not allow them to prevail over you in power and in victory. Be steadfast, therefore, do violence to yourself, and endure the pain which you will feel in doing violence to yourself.¹ Cease not to cry from the bottom of your heart, and call upon your Lord, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints, for without doubt you will gain the victory over your enemies. If you are weary and ill equipped, if your enemies are strong and many ; yet many enough are the aids of Him Who has created you and redeemed you ; and above measure and without any comparison your God is stronger, and has more will to save you than the enemy has to destroy you.

Fight,² then, nor let your suffering ever tire you ; for from the weariness, the violence against your evil inclinations, and the pain which is felt through evil habits, is born the victory and the great treasure with

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 3 : "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

² "Fight the good fight with all thy might,
Christ is thy Strength, and Christ thy Right ;
Lay hold on life, and it shall be
Thy joy and crown eternally.

"Faint not nor fear, His arms are near,
He changeth not, and thou art dear ;
Only believe, and thou shalt see
That Christ is all in all to thee."

(Dr Monsell, *Hymns A. and M.* 540.)

which the kingdom of heaven is purchased and the soul united for ever with God.

You will begin in the name of the Lord to fight with the arms of distrust of yourself and trust in God, with prayer, and with practice;¹ calling your enemy to battle, the evil inclination which according to the order above laid down you have resolved to conquer, now by resistance, now by hatred, and now by acts of the contrary virtue, wounding it again and again even unto death, that you may give pleasure to your Lord, Who with the whole Church Triumphant is watching your combat.

Again I tell you that the struggle ought not to tire you, considering the obligation we are all under of serving and pleasing God, and the necessity of fighting, since we are not able to flee from this battle without being wounded and killed; and I tell you further, that if as a rebel you would wish to flee from God and give yourself to the world and the delights of the flesh, you will still be obliged in spite of yourself to fight against so very many tribulations that frequently your face will sweat and your heart be pierced with the agony of death.

And here consider what kind of folly it would be to choose that toil and that pain which leads to greater toil and pain as well as death without any end, whilst we flee from that which, being soon over, unites us to the eternal and infinite blessedness of rejoicing for ever with our God.²

¹ *Cp. chapter i. ad fin.*

² There is nothing corresponding to this in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

CHAP. XVII

THE ORDER OF BATTLE

Of the order of fighting against our vicious passions

IT¹ is of great importance to know the order we must keep to fight as we ought, and not by chance and by rote, as many do with no little loss to themselves.

The order of battle against your enemies and evil inclinations is that you should enter into the inward recesses of your heart, and by means of diligent examination see by what kind of thoughts and affections it is surrounded and by what passions it is most possessed and tormented; and against this chiefly you will take up arms and fight.

And if it should happen that you are assaulted by other enemies, you ought always to fight against that which actually at the time and at close quarters is making war against you, returning afterwards to your principal enterprise.²

¹ The text of chapter xiv. in the edition of Castaniza of 1652.

² This is chapter xiv. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza, and holds a later position, being placed after the section on the government of the tongue. Its place in Scupoli appears more fitting.

CHAP. XVIII

SUDDEN IMPULSES

Of the method of resisting the sudden impulses of the passions

IF¹ you are not yet accustomed to parry the sudden blows of injury or any other thing which is against you, to gain this habit take care to anticipate them, and then wish for them again and again, awaiting them with your mind prepared to meet them.²

The method of anticipating them is that, having considered the condition of your passions, you should also consider the persons with whom you have intercourse and the places where you meet them ; and from this you will easily be able to conjecture what may happen to you.

And should anything else of any kind happen to you which is against your interests and which you had not thought about, besides the help which you will meet from having kept the mind ready for the other things which you have foreseen, you will be able also to make use of this other method.

When you begin to feel the first blows of the injury or other painful thing, be quick to force yourself to raise your mind to God, considering His ineffable goodness and love towards you ; for it is by

¹ The text of chapter x. in Castaniza.

² The following addition appears in Castaniza :—“Let him, first, diligently consider them with his understanding, then earnestly desire them with his will, and, finally, always expect them with a ready and prepared mind.” This looks like an expansion of Scupoli.

this love that He sends you this adversity, that you may the rather by bearing it for His love purify yourself, and draw near and be one with Him.

And having seen how much He is pleased that you should be bearing it, turn to yourself whilst you reprove yourself, and say to yourself: "Ah! why do you not wish to bear this cross, which not this person or that, but your heavenly Father sends you?" Then turn back to the cross, embrace it with the greatest patience and joy that is possible, and say: "O cross¹ formed by the providence of God before I was born! O cross sweetened by the sweet love of my Crucified Lord! nail me now to thyself, that I may be able to give myself to Him Who by dying on thee hath redeemed me."

And if in the beginning, while the passion is prevailing against you, you are not able to lift yourself up to God, but remain wounded, strive by every means to do as you did at first, as if you were not wounded.

But as an effectual remedy against these sudden impulses, you will cast off at once the causes whence they proceed.

So if by the affection you have for anything, you see that when you are tormented by it you are accustomed to fall into a sudden emotion of mind, the way to provide against this in time is that you should take care to deprive it of this effect.

But if the emotion does not proceed from a thing but from a person, when every little action disgusts you and agitates you, because you do not like him; the remedy is that you should make an effort to bend your will to love him and hold him dear; for,² besides

¹ This address to the Cross is wanting in Castaniza.

² The enlargement of 1652.

his being a creature like yourself, formed by the sovereign hand of God, and reformed like yourself by His own divine blood, he gives you also the opportunity (if you will endure him) of making yourself, like your Lord, loving and kind with all men.¹

CHAP. XIX

THE FLESH

Of the method of fighting against the vice of the flesh

AGAINST² this vice you must fight in a special and different manner from the others.

And therefore, that you may know how to fight in due order, you must observe three stages: before we

¹ This chapter is parallel with chapter x. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. St. Francis de Sales, speaking of these sudden temptations, says: "Mais parceque nous tenons ordinairement nostre foy, ou dormante, ou moins attentive, qu'il ne serait requis, pour la conservation de nostre charité, nous sommes aussi souvent surpris de la tentation, laquelle, seduisant nos sens, et nos sens incitans la partie inférieure de nostre ame à rebellion, il advient que maintesfois la partie supérieure de la raison, cede à l'effort de cette revolte, et commettant le peché, elle perd la charité" (*De l'Amour de Dieu*, liv. iv. ch. iii. ed. 1647, p. 169).

The following counsels of the *Imitatio* show the need of persistent conflict:—"Una tentatione seu tribulatione recedente, alia supervenit; et semper aliquid ad patiendum habebimus, nam bonum felicitatis nostræ perdidimus. Multi quærunt tentationes fugere, et gravius incident in eas. Per solam fugam non possumus vincere: sed per patientiam et veram humilitatem, omnibus hostibus efficimur fortiores" (*De Imit. Chr.* i. 13).

² The text of chapter xi. of 1652.

are tempted, when we are being tempted, and after the temptation is passed.

Before the temptation, the struggle will be against the causes which are wont to produce this temptation.

*First,*¹ You must not fight in face of the vice, but flee with all your might any occasion and person whatsoever whereby you may fall into the least danger.²

And³ if there is need that you should at times have intercourse with them, be as quick as you can, with a modest and serious face, and your words ought to be spoken the sooner with severity than with excessive tenderness and friendliness.⁴

Do⁵ not trust yourself because you do not at present feel, nor it may be have felt for many years, any incitations of the flesh working in you; for this accursed vice does in one hour what it has not done in many years, and often orders its preparations secretly, and is the more hurtful and wounds more incurably the more friendly it appears and the less it is suspected.

And many times there is more to fear, as experience has shown not a little and still shows, when intercourse is held under the pretext of things which are lawful,

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² St. Francis de Sales repeats this advice: "Be extremely prompt in turning away from all the ways and from all the snares of incontinence. For this evil works insensibly, and, by small beginnings, makes way to great misfortunes. It is always more easy to flee than to cure" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 13, p. 226).

³ The text of 1652.

⁴ "Do not keep company with immodest persons, especially if they are impudent, as they nearly always are" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 13, p. 229).

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.

such as relationship or official duty, or indeed virtue, whatever it be, in the person who is loved; because with too much imprudent intercourse there is mixed the poisonous delight of the senses, which flowing in little by little and penetrating to the innermost part of the soul, darkens the reason more and more, in such a way that dangerous things—affectionate looks, tender words on one side or the other, and the pleasures of intercourse—begin to be thought of as of no account; and so passing from one side to the other, we fall into destruction, or into some temptation which is hard and difficult to overcome.

Again¹ I say to you that you should flee, for you are stubble; do not trust in being bathed and full of the water of a good and strong will, and in being the more resolute and ready to die than to offend God, because with frequent intercourse the fire by its heat little by little dries up the water of good will; and when you least think it, it will assault it in such a way that it will show no respect either to relations or to friends, neither will it fear God, nor have regard to honour or life or all the pains of hell. Therefore flee, flee,² if you do not indeed wish to be overcome, taken, and slain.

Secondly, Flee³ idleness, and be watchful and ready with thoughts and works suitable to your condition of life.

Thirdly, Do not make any resistance, but obey your superiors readily, carrying out with promptness the things laid upon you, and the more willingly those which

¹ This is wanting in Castaniza.

² 1 Cor. vi, 18: "Flee fornication" 2 Tim. ii, 22: "Flee also youthful lusts." Gen. xxxix, 12: "Joseph . . . fled and got him out."

³ The text of 1652.

humble you and are the more contrary to your will and natural inclination.¹

Fourthly, Do not ever pronounce rash judgment against your neighbour, particularly in the matter of this vice ; and if he have already fallen, have compassion on him, and do not be spiteful against him ; do not hold him in contempt, but rather gather from it the fruit of humility and knowledge of yourself, knowing yourself to be dust and nothing more ; in prayer draw near to God, and more than ever flee from the occasions where there may even be the shadow of danger.

For if you are ready to judge another and despise him, God will correct you to your cost, allowing you to fall into the same fault, that so you may perceive your pride, and being humbled by it, may have a cure for both these vices.

And even if you do not fall nor alter your opinion of him, know still that there is grave doubt of your condition.

Fifthly and lastly, Take care, when you find yourself with some gift and taste for spiritual delights, that you do not entertain any vain satisfaction with yourself, persuading yourself that you are something, and that your enemies are no longer preparing to make war on you, since you seem to have gained an advantage over them with disgust, horror, and hatred ; for if in this you are incautious, you will fall easily.

¹ St. Francis enlarges this counsel : "Obey in things difficult, rough, and hard, and your obedience will be perfect. Obey, indeed, gently without reply, promptly without delay, gaily without grief, and above all obey lovingly, for the love of Him Who for love of us became obedient even to the death of the Cross, and Who, as St. Bernard says, loved rather to lose life than obedience" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 11, p. 217)

In the time of temptation, consider if it proceeds from outward or inward causes.

By outward causes I mean such as curiosity of the eyes, of the ears, an excessive elegance in dress,¹ the practices and conversations which incite to this vice.

The remedy in these cases is honesty, modesty, not wishing to see or to hear things which incite to this vice, and flight, as has been said above.

The inward cause proceeds either from fulness of bodily activities, or from the thoughts of our mind, which come from our evil habits, or indeed through the suggestion of the devil.²

This fulness of bodily activities must be modified by fasting, by discipline, by sackcloth, by vigils, and other kinds of hardness of the same kind, as discretion and obedience may teach.³

As to thoughts, from whatever source they arise, the remedies are these :

¹ St. Francis de Sales has a chapter on "Decency in Dress": "Be neat, Philothea; do not wear anything which drags or fits badly. . . Beware specially of affectation, vanity, curiosity, and wantonness. Always keep as much as you can on the side of simplicity and modesty, for this is without doubt the chief ornament of beauty and the best excuse for ugliness" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 25, p. 282).

² St. Francis insists on this evil tendency of the body and heart: "Chastity depends on the heart as its source, but it looks to the body as its subject. This is why it is lost by all the outward senses of the body and the thoughts and desires of the heart. It is impurity to look, to hear, to speak, to smell, to touch immodest things when the heart is interested in them and takes pleasure in them" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 13, p. 227).

³ "To heal ourselves of our vices, it is indeed good to mortify the flesh; but it is above all things necessary to purify our affections and refresh our hearts" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 23, p. 275).

Occupation in different practices suitable to our condition.

Prayer and meditation.

Prayer should be offered in this manner :

When¹ you begin to be even the least conscious not only of such thoughts, but of their approach, withdraw yourself at once in mind to the Crucified Lord, saying : “O my Jesus, O blessed Jesus, help me now, that I may not be taken by this foe.”

And at times embracing the Cross on which your Lord hangs, kiss the wounds of His sacred feet again and again, saying affectionately : “O blessed wounds ! O chaste wounds ! O holy wounds ! wound now this wretched and impure heart of mine, and deliver me from all that is an offence to Thee ! ”

At² the time when the temptations of the fleshly lusts are strong, I would not that your meditation be on certain points which many books propose for the remedy of this temptation ; as the consideration of the vileness of this vice, the insatiability, the disgust, the bitterness which follow from it, the dangers and ruin of property, of life, of honour, and things similar to these.

For this is not always a safe means of conquering temptation, indeed it can bring harm: for if the understanding by one road drives away these thoughts, by the other it gives the opportunity and the danger of taking pleasure in them and consenting to the delight ; and therefore the real remedy is altogether to flee not only from these but from everything, though contrary to them, which may in any way suggest them to us.

Therefore let your meditation for this purpose be on the life and Passion of our Crucified Lord.

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² The text of 1652.

And if in your meditation the same thoughts should again present themselves against your will, and molest you more than usual, as will easily happen, you will not on that account be frightened, neither will you leave the meditation, nor to resist them will you turn to them again, but you will follow up your meditation as intently as possible, not troubling about such thoughts any more than if they were not your own ; for there is not a better way of opposing them, even though they wage perpetual war against you.

You¹ will conclude, then, the meditation with this or a similar prayer : "Deliver me, O my Creator and Redeemer, from my enemies, for the honour of Thy Passion and ineffable goodness" : not turning your mind back again to the vice, because the mere memory of it is not without danger.

Do² not ever stop to discuss about a similar temptation as to whether you have consented or not, because this, under the guise of something good, is a snare of the devil to disquiet you and make you distrustful and cowardly ; or, indeed, because he hopes by keeping you occupied in such a dispute to make you fall into some fault.

Therefore in this temptation, when the consent is not clear, it is sufficient to confess the whole briefly to your spiritual father, remaining then quietly content with his opinion without thinking more of it.

And be sure that you faithfully reveal to him every thought of yours, and do not let any regard or shame keep you back from doing so.

For if, in view of all our enemies, we have need of the virtue of humility to conquer them, in this more than in any other we ought to humble ourselves,

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² The text of 1652.

since this vice is always as if it were a punishment of pride.¹

When the time of temptation is passed, that which you have to do is, that however free and safe from all temptation you seem to be, yet you should keep away your mind altogether from those objects which have caused the temptation, although for the purpose of virtue or some other good result you may think you should do otherwise; because this is a deceit of our vicious nature and a snare of our cunning adversary, who transforms himself into an angel of light² to bring us into darkness.³

CHAP. XX

SLOTH

The method of fighting against sloth

THAT⁴ you may not fall into the miserable servitude of sloth, which not only would hinder you

¹ Prov. xi. 2: "When pride cometh, then cometh shame." Prov. xvi. 18: "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall."

² 2 Cor. xi. 14: "For Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light."

³ The greater portion of this chapter appears as the text in chapter xi. of the 1652 translation of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The detailed spiritual counsels on the subtle dangers of intercourse, and the forms of prayer to be used, are regarded as an enlargement of the text. The simile of the stubble and the reiterated counsel to flee appears to be wanting in its detail in Castaniza, though it adds little but emphasis to the advice of the text. With this chapter may be read St. Francis de Sales' counsels in the *Devout Life* (Pt. iii. ch. xiii., xxxviii.-xli.) and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (ch. ii. § 3).

⁴ The text of chapter xii. of 1652.

in the way of perfection, but would give you into the hands of your enemies :

You must flee all curiosity and earthly attachment, and whatever occupation is not suitable to your condition of life.¹

Then² you must make every effort to respond at once to every good inspiration and to every order of your superiors, whatever it be, doing things at the time and in the way which is pleasing to them.

Do not delay even for the shortest space of time, for that first little delay brings up at once a second, and this a third, and others to which the senses bend and yield more easily than to the first, being already enticed and captured by the pleasure it has tasted.

And therefore either the work is begun too late, or sometimes is omitted altogether as being wearisome. And so little by little the habit of sloth is formed, which then reduces us to such a state that at the very moment when we are held bound by it we resolve another time to be most careful and diligent, recognising to our shame that we have been hitherto most negligent.

This sloth glides in everywhere, and with its poison not only infects the will, making it shun work, but also blinds the understanding, so that it does not see how empty and ill-supported are the resolutions to execute in the future with readiness and diligence that which, while it ought to have been carried out at once, has willingly enough been left, or indeed has been postponed to another time.

¹ Jeremy Taylor, in his "Counsels on Tediousness of Spirit," says : "Learn to abstract your thoughts and desires from pleasures and things of the world. For nothing is a direct cure to this evil, but cutting off all other loves and adherences" (*Holy Living*, ch. iv. 7).

² The enlargement of 1652.

Nor is it sufficient to do the work which we have to do quickly; but it must be done at the very time which the quality and the nature of the work requires, and with all the diligence which is fitting to it, that it may attain every possible perfection.

For it is not diligence but a most subtle sloth to do the work beforehand, and to finish it hastily and without doing it well, that we may then quietly give ourselves over to idleness,¹ on which our thought was fixed even while the work was being hurried through.

The whole² of this serious evil happens because the value of good work done in its own time is not considered, and no thought is given to meet with determination the wearisomeness and difficulty which the vice of sloth brings to the young³ soldier.

You have then frequently to consider that a single raising of the mind to God, and a bending of the knees to the earth in His honour, is of more value than all the treasures of the world; and⁴ that as often as we do violence to ourselves and to our vicious passions the angels bear to our soul from the kingdom of heaven a crown of glorious victory.

But, on the one hand, God little by little takes away from the slothful the graces He has given them, while to the diligent He increases them, causing them to enter into His own joy.⁵

As⁶ to the weariness and difficulty, if you are not

¹ "All' accidioso riposo."

² The text of 1652.

³ "Novelli," i.e. newly enlisted.

⁴ The enlargement of 1652.

⁵ St. Matt. xxv. 29: "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

Ibid. xxv. 23: "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

⁶ The text of 1652.

capable in the first beginning to meet it manfully, you must hide it in such a way that it may seem less than what it is judged to be by the slothful.

The¹ practice you have in hand may perchance require many and many an act to gain one virtue and incessant weariness for many days, and the enemies to be taken by force may appear to you to be many and great. Begin these acts as if there were only a few, and you had need of toiling for only a few days, and fight against one enemy as if there were no others to fight, with full confidence that by the help of God you are stronger than they are; for if you act in this way, sloth will begin to lose its force, and will then make way for the gradual entrance of the opposite virtue.

I say the same of prayer. Your practice requires² at times an hour of prayer. And this seems hard to you in your sloth; begin it as if you wished to pray for the space of ten minutes,³ for you will easily pass to another, and from this to the time that remains.⁴

For if still in the second or the other stages you feel too violent a repugnance and difficulty, leave it so as not to tire yourself out, and then take it up again after a short while.

This method⁵ also you must follow in manual labour, when it happens that you have need of doing things

¹ This is wanting in Castaniza.

² The text of 1652.

³ "D'un ottavo d'ora."

⁴ St. Francis gives an hour as the standard: "Employ an hour a day in meditation before dinner if possible" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 1, p. 87). Jeremy Taylor recognises the difficulty of "tediousness in prayer": "Break your office and devotion into fragments, and make frequent returnings by ejaculations and abrupt entercourses with God; for so, no length can oppress your tenderness and sickliness of spirit" (*Holy Living*, ch. iv. § 7).

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.

about which, since they appear to you in your sloth to be many and difficult, you begin to weary. Begin, nevertheless, bravely and quietly with one, as if there were not another to do ; for by doing this diligently, you will come to do all with far less fatigue than that which in your sloth seemed to be before you.

For if you do not act in this manner, and do not face the weariness and difficulty which appear to you, in such a way will the vice of sloth prevail over you that this weariness and difficulty which the practice of the virtues at first brings with it, not only when present, but even from a distance will keep you anxious and worried, always afraid of being tried and assaulted by the enemies, and of seeming to yourself to be dogged by something which is a burden to you ; and therefore even when you are quiet you live in a state of disquietude.

And know, my daughter, that little by little this vice of sloth by its hidden poison not only rots the first rootlets which are to produce habits of virtue, but the roots of virtue already acquired ; as the dry-rot in wood, so it insensibly eats into and consumes the very centre of the spiritual life ; and to all, but specially to the spiritual, the devil by this means lays snares and traps.

Watch, therefore, pray and work, and do not wait to weave the cloth for the wedding garment, when you ought to find yourself adorned with it to meet the Bridegroom.¹

And remember each day that He Who gives you the morning does not promise you the evening, and when He gives you the evening there is no promise to you of the morning. And therefore spend every

¹ St. Matt. xxiv. 42 : "Watch therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come."

moment of the hour according to the good pleasure of God, and as if no other time would be given to you ; and the more so that for every moment you must render the most exact account.

I conclude by warning you to regard that day as lost, although you may have finished many things you have undertaken, in which you have not gained some victories over your evil inclinations and your self-will, nor thanked your Lord for His benefits, and particularly for the grievous Passion which He suffered for you, and for the Fatherly and gentle chastisement by which He has made you worthy of the inestimable treasure of tribulation.¹

¹ This chapter corresponds closely with chapter xii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The text only covers six paragraphs, the greater part of the detail being assigned to the work of enlargement. The paragraph on the gradual accomplishment of work does not appear in the chapter of Castaniza, but the advice in the matter of prayer belongs to the text.

St. Francis de Sales does not deal separately with this sin. It holds a prominent place in the ethics of the Old Testament : "He that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster" (Prov. xviii. 9). "Go to the ant, thou sluggard ; consider her ways, and be wise" (Prov. vi. 6). "By much slothfulness the building decayeth ; and through the idleness of the hands the house droppeth through" (Eccles. x. 18). It occurs in the New Testament : "Not slothful in business" (Rom. xii. 11).

CHAP. XXI

THE OUTWARD SENSES

Of the government of the outward senses, and how to be able to pass on from them to the contemplation of the Divinity

GREAT¹ care and continual practice is required in the good government and regulation of our outward senses, because the appetite, which is as it were the captain of our corrupt nature, is immoderately inclined to search for pleasure and contentment; and not being able to acquire it by itself alone, it makes use of the senses as its soldiers and natural instruments, that it may seize upon the objects presented to them, and seeking and drawing to itself the images of these objects, it stamps them upon the soul; thereupon there follows pleasure, which by the understanding that there is between itself and the flesh extends throughout the whole of that part of the feelings which is capable of such delight; and then there follows from it both to the soul and the body a contagion common to both, which corrupts the whole.

You see the danger: pay attention to the remedy. Be very careful not to allow your senses to go freely where they will, and do not make use of them: when mere pleasure, and no good end or usefulness or necessity, moves you to do it: and, unless unknown to yourself they have gone too far, do what you can to draw them back and regulate them in such a manner that, whereas at first they were pitifully the

¹ The enlargement of chapter xiii. of 1652.

prisoners of mere contentment, they may obtain from each object a noble booty and bring it within the soul ; and then the soul, finding rest in itself, will spread the wings of its faculties towards heaven in the contemplation of God. And this you will be able to do in this way.

When any object is represented to any one of your outward senses, separate in thought from the thing which is created the spirit which is in it, and think that of itself it has nothing of all that which appears to your senses, but that it is all the work of God, Who by His spirit invisibly gives it its being, its goodness, its beauty, and all the good which is in it ; and then rejoice within yourself that the Lord alone is the cause and first beginning of the many different perfections that there are in things, and that in Himself alone He in a wonderful manner contains them all : since they themselves are not more than the very smallest part of His own divine and infinite perfection.

When you find that you are occupied in the contemplation of things which have a noble nature, you will reduce to its own nothingness the thing which is created, fixing the eye of your mind on the Great Creator Who is present in it, Who has given it its being ; and taking delight in Him alone, you will say : “O Divine Essence ! to the highest degree desirable, how I rejoice that Thou alone art the infinite beginning of all created being.”¹

Likewise, when you notice trees, grass, and such-

¹ St. Francis de Sales may be referring to the ejaculatory prayers in this chapter, when he writes : “ Many have gathered together verbal aspirations, which indeed are very useful, but in my opinion you will not aim at any kind of words, but will pronounce either from the heart or the mouth those which love will suggest at the time, for it will furnish you with what you wish ” (*The Devout Life*, ii. 13, p. 119).

like things, by your understanding you will see that the life which they have, they have not of themselves, but from the spirit which you do not see, and which alone gives them life, and you will be able to say: "Behold, here is the true life, from which, in which, and through which all things live and grow! O living contentment of such a heart as this!"¹

So from the sight of the animal creation you will lift yourself up in mind to God, Who gives them sense and motion, saying: "O prime Mover, Who moving all things art immovable in Thyself, here I rejoice in Thy firmness and strength!"²

And when you feel yourself attracted by the beauty of created life, separate that which you see from the spirit which you do not see, and consider that all the beauty which appears on the outside is from the spirit alone, which is invisible, by whom alone all this outward beauty is caused; and say quite happily: "Behold the brooks which flow from the uncreated source!³ Behold the drops of the infinite ocean of all good.⁴

¹ St. Francis gives a similar illustration: "Another, seeing the trees in blossom, replied: 'Why am I alone without blossom in the garden of the Church?' . . . Another, seeing a sunflower, said: 'When will it come to pass, my God, that my soul will follow the attraction of Thy goodness?' And looking at the pansies in the garden, beautiful to the sight, but without scent: 'Alas,' said he, 'such are my thoughts, beautiful in expression, but without either result or fruit'" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 13, pp. 125-126).

² This is an echo of the hymns used at None:

"Rerum Deus, tenax vigor,
Immotus in te permanens."

³ Prov. xviii. 4: "The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters, and the well-spring of wisdom as a flowing brook."

⁴ These words occur in the text of Castaniza in the earlier portion of chapter xiii. of the *Spiritual Conflict*.

Oh ! how I rejoice within my heart, when I think of the eternal and infinite beauty which is the origin and cause of all beauty as a whole ! ”

And when you look at the goodness, wisdom, justice, and the other virtues there are in other people, when you have separated them as before, you will say to your God : “ O most precious treasure of virtue, how great is my delight that from Thee and through Thee alone there flows all good, and that all is as nothing in comparison with Thy divine perfections. I thank Thee, O Lord, for this and every other good thing Thou hast done to my neighbour ; remember, O Lord, my poverty, and the great need I have of the virtue of ”¹

And again, when you set your hand to do anything, think that God is the first cause of the work, and that you are as nothing but His living instrument : and raising up your thought to Him, say in this way : “ How great is the contentment which I experience within myself, O sovereign Lord of all, that I am not able to do anything without Thee, yea, that Thou art the first and principal worker of all things ! ”

When you taste food or drink, consider that it is God who gives it its taste ; and finding pleasure in Him alone, you will be able to say : “ Rejoice, my soul, that as apart from thy God thou hast no true contentment, so in Him alone thou canst alone take pleasure in anything.”

If you take delight in smelling anything which is grateful to the sense, do not stop short in that delight, but pass on in thought to the Lord, from Whom the scent has its origin ; and when you feel inward consolation in this, you will say : “ Ah ! grant, O Lord,

¹ This last sentence has no parallel in either the text or enlargement of Castaniza.

that as I rejoice that all sweetness comes from Thee, so my soul, stripped and naked of all earthly pleasure, may ascend on high and may be unto Thee as a sweet-smelling savour."

When you hear any harmony of music and singing, having turned in mind to your God, you will say: "How much I rejoice, O my Lord and my God, at Thy infinite perfections, which not only all together produce in Thyself more than heavenly harmony, but also in union with the angels, the heavens, and with all creation make marvellous music!"¹

CHAP. XXII (*continued*)

THE OUTWARD SENSES

How the same things are a means of regulating our senses, if we pass on to the meditation of the Incarnate Word, in the mysteries of His life and Passion

I² HAVE shown you above how we may be able to lift up our mind from things sensible to the contemplation of the Divinity. Now learn a way of

¹ This chapter is, with the two little exceptions noted, the first part of the enlargement in chapter xiii. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. It has the appearance of being a parallel treatment of the same subject, in which case the present edition of Castaniza combines the older text and the enlargement, whereas the present edition of Scupoli, recognising the similarity of subject, has omitted the older text and preserved only the enlarged counsels. The chapter is a good illustration of the composite character of the present edition of Castaniza.

² The enlargement of chapter xiii. of 1652.

drawing aspirations¹ from the same things by meditation on the Incarnate Word, considering the most holy mysteries of His life and Passion.

All the things of the universe are able to serve to this end, if, as above shown, we consider God on high to be in them as the only first cause, Who has given to them all the being and the beauty and the excellence that they have ; and then pass on from this thought to consider how great and infinite is His goodness that, being the sole beginning and Lord of all creation, He has willed to descend to such lowliness as to be made man and to suffer and die for man, allowing the very works of His hand to arm themselves against Him to crucify Him.

Many things, then, in particular bring before the eyes of our mind these holy mysteries, such as weapons, cords, scourges, columns, thorns, reeds, nails, hammers, and other things which were the instruments of His Passion.

Poor inns may bring back to the mind the stable and the manger of the Lord. When it rains, we shall remember the rain of divine blood which, dropping from His most holy body, watered the earth ; the rocks we see will represent to us those which were rent at his death ; the earth, the earthquake which took place at the same time ; the sun, the darkness which hid it ; and when we see the waters, we shall remind ourselves of that which came forth from His most holy side. And I may say the same of other such-like things.

When you taste wine or other drink, remember the vinegar and gall of thy Lord.

¹ St. Francis writes : "Behold, then, dear Philothea, how we may draw good thoughts and holy aspirations from that which presents itself to us amid the changes of this mortal life" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 13, p. 126).

If sweet smells entice you, recall to your mind the stench of the dead bodies which He smelt on Mount Calvary.

When you put on your clothes, remind yourself that the Eternal Word clothed Himself with human flesh to clothe you with His divinity.

When you undress, have Christ in your mind, who was stripped naked that He might be scourged and fastened to the Cross for you.

When you hear the shouts and the cries of the people, remember those abominable words : “Crucifige, crucifige, tolle, tolle,”¹ which entered into His divine ears.

Every time the clock strikes, let it recall the troubled breathing of the heart which Jesus for your sake was pleased to feel, when in the garden He began to fear His approaching Passion and death ; or, indeed, you may seem to hear those hard blows with which He was nailed to the Cross.

Whatever occasion of grief and sorrow presents itself to you, whether your own or that of another, think that they are as nothing in respect of the inconceivable anguish which transfixed and afflicted the body and soul of your Lord.²

¹ “Crucify Him, crucify Him ! Away with Him, away with Him !”

² This is a continuation of the enlargement of chapter xiii. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

CHAP. XXIII

THE OUTWARD SENSES (*continued*)

Of other methods of regulating our senses, according to the different occasions which present themselves to us

HAVING¹ seen how the understanding is to be lifted up from things sensible to the Divinity and the mysteries of the Incarnate Word, I will here add other methods to draw from them different meditations, to the end that, as souls differ among themselves in taste, so they may have many different kinds of food. Further than this, it will be able to serve not only for persons who are simple, but for those who are of a superior genius, and are more advanced in the way of the spirit, which in this person and the other is not always equally disposed and ready for the highest contemplations.

And you ought not to fear that you will be perplexed in such a variety of things, if you will follow the rule of discretion and the counsel of others, which I think you ought to attach yourself to with humility and confidence, not only in this but in every other instance which you receive from me.

In seeing so many things which are agreeable to the sight and of value in the world, consider that they are all of the foulest nature and as dung in comparison with heavenly riches, to which, whilst you despise the whole world, you should aspire with your whole heart.

When you turn your eyes towards the sun, think how far more bright and beautiful is your soul if it is in

¹ The enlargement of chapter xiii. of 1652.

favour with your Creator ; otherwise it is darker and more abominable than the darkness of hell.

When you raise the eyes of your body to the heaven which covers you, pierce above the very highest heaven with those of the soul, and fix yourself there in thought, as in a place which has been made ready for you as a blessed resting place to all eternity if you live in innocence on earth.

When you hear the singing of birds and other songs, raise your mind to those of Paradise, where Alleluia is ever ringing, and pray the Lord that He will make you worthy to praise Him for ever together with these heavenly spirits.

When¹ you perceive that you are taking delight in the beauty of creation, consider in your mind that the serpent of hell lies hidden in it, altogether intent and ready to kill you, or at least to wound you ; and against him you will be able to use these words : “ Ah ! thou accursed serpent, how cunningly thou art prepared to devour me ! ” Then, turning to God, you will say : “ Blessed art Thou, my God, Who hast revealed the enemy to me, and hast delivered me from his devouring jaws.”

And² when you are enticed, flee at once to the wounds of the Crucified, fixing your thought upon them, and considering how much the Lord suffered in His most sacred flesh to deliver you from sin, and to make the delights of the flesh hateful to you.

I³ would remind you of another method of fleeing from this dangerous allurement ; and it is that you

¹ This paragraph corresponds with the text in the earlier part of chapter xiii., which is assigned by the translator of 1652 to the text of Castaniza.

² This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

³ This paragraph is also wanting.

weigh well of what character that object will be after death which pleases you so much now.

Whilst¹ you are walking, remember that every step you take you are drawing near to death.

When you see the birds flying through the air and the waters flowing fast, remember that with even greater fleetness your life is flying to its end.

When the winds rise in their fury or the lightnings flash and the thunder rolls, remember the tremendous day of judgment ; and falling on your knees, worship God, and pray Him that He will grant you grace and time to prepare yourself thoroughly to appear then before His awful Majesty.

In the many different things which may happen to you personally, you will exercise yourself in this way. When, for example, you are overcome by any pain or grief, or when you suffer heat, cold, or anything else, raise your mind to that eternal will whose pleasure it has been that, for your own good, you should feel this to some measure and extent. And then, happy in the love which your God shows you, and in the opportunity of serving Him in everything, which is the more pleasing to Him, you will say ; “ Behold in me the fulfilment of the divine will, which from all eternity hath ordained of His great love that I should now endure this labour. May my most precious Lord be for ever praised ! ”

And² when there arises in your mind the thought of anything that is good, turn yourself at once to God, and recognise it as coming from Him, and give Him thanks for it.

¹ The enlargement of 1652. This paragraph in Castaniza follows upon that on the endless Alleluias of heaven.

² This occurs in the earlier part of chapter xiii. of Castaniza which is assigned to the original text.

When¹ you are reading, think that you see the Lord beneath the words, and receive them as if they came from His divine mouth.

When you look at the holy Cross,² consider that it is the standard of your army; if you draw away from it you will fall into the hands of your cruel enemies, and if you follow it you will reach heaven laden with glorious spoils.

When you see the dear image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, turn your heart to her who reigns in Paradise, thanking her that she was always prepared to do the will of your God; that she has given birth to, and suckled, and nourished the Redeemer of the world; and that in our spiritual conflict she never fails in her favour and help.³

Let the images of the saints represent the many champions who, having run their course valiantly, have opened to you the way by which, when you also walk, you will together with them be crowned with everlasting glory.

When you see any churches, among other devout

¹ This also appears in the text in the earlier part of chapter xiii. of Castaniza.

² The continuation of the enlargement of 1652.

³ There may be a reference here to a prayer much in use at that period, a prayer recommended largely by St. Francis de Sales, and attributed by some to St. Augustine, by others to St. Bernard. It is known as the "Memorare": "Memorare, O piissima Virgo Maria, non esse auditum a sæculo quemquam, ad tua currentem præsidia, tua implorantem auxilia, tua petentem suffragia, esse derelictum. Ego tali animatus confidentia, ad te, Virgo virginum Mater, curro, ad te venio, coram te gemens peccator assisto. Noli, Mater Verbi, verba mea despicere, sed audi propitia, et exaudi. Amen" (*The Devout Life*, Intr. xxv.; cf. Migne's ed. St. Francis de Sales, vol. i. p. 146. See additional note at the end of the chapter).

considerations you will be able to think that your soul is a temple of God, and that therefore, as being His shrine, you must keep it pure and clean.¹

Whenever you hear the three strokes of the Angelus,² you will be able to make the following short meditations, which are in conformity with the sacred words which are usually said before each of these heavenly aspirations.

At the first stroke, thank God for the message which He sent from heaven to earth, which was the beginning of our salvation.³

At the second, rejoice with the Blessed Virgin Mary at her greatness, to which she was raised by her singular and most profound humility.⁴

At the third stroke, together with the most Blessed Mother, and the angel Gabriel, adore the Divine child newly conceived.⁵

Do not forget to bow your head a little in reverence at each stroke, and somewhat more at the last.⁶

These meditations divided among the three strokes may serve for all occasions.⁷

The following may be divided between the evening,

¹ This is the last clause but one of this portion of chapter xiii. in Castaniza. The rest of this chapter in Scupoli has no parallel in Castaniza.

² "Della salutazione angelica."

³ This corresponds with the first part of the Angelus: "V. Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ. R. Et concepit de Spiritu sancto. Ave Maria," etc.

⁴ This agrees with the second part of the Angelus: "V. Ecce ancilla Domini. R. Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Ave Maria," etc.

⁵ This is to be done in allusion to the last clause of the Angelus: "V. Et verbum caro factum est. R. Et habitavit in nobis. Ave Maria," etc.

⁶ This in adoration of the Incarnate Word.

⁷ That is, for morning, noon, and night.

the morning, and at midday, and have reference to the Passion of the Lord, since we are in every way in duty bound to remember as often as possible the pains which our Lady bore through the Passion, and should show ourselves ungrateful did we not do so.¹

In the evening bring to memory the anguish borne by the pure Virgin through the Bloody Sweat, the arrest in the garden, and the secret sorrows suffered by her Blessed Son throughout that night.

In the morning, sympathise with her affliction at the trial before Pilate and Herod, at the sentence of His death, and at the bearing of the Cross.

At midday penetrate in thought to the sword of sorrow which pierced the heart of the unhappy mother at the crucifixion and death of the Lord, and at the most cruel lance-thrust in His most sacred side.

These meditations on the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin you will be able to make from the evening of Thursday until midday on Saturday, the rest on the other days.² I refer, of course, to your own private devotions and to the opportunities which outward things will offer to you.

¹ These meditations are based on the five sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, as they are set forth among the "Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary":

"Ave Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum: Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus:

"Qui pro nobis sanguinem sudavit.
Qui pro nobis flagellatus est.
Qui pro nobis spinis coronatus est.
Qui pro nobis crucem bajulavit.
Qui pro nobis crucifixus est."

² The early part of the week, therefore, these thoughts were suggested by the words of the Angelus, the latter part by the words of the Rosary.

And to conclude briefly the method with which you must regulate the senses, watch, so that in anything which may happen to you, you may be moved and drawn not by love or hatred of them, but by the will of God alone, embracing this or detesting that so far as God wills that you should embrace it or detest it.¹

And observe that I have not given you these methods of ruling the senses that you may occupy yourself with them; for you ought as it were to be always united in your mind with your Lord, Who wishes you by frequent acts to apply yourself to the conquest of your enemies and your vicious passions, both by resisting them and by means of acts of virtue contrary to them; but I have instructed you in these things that you may know how to regulate your conduct when you have need.

Therefore you must know that there is little fruit when many practices are undertaken, however good they may be in themselves; indeed they are very often merely a perplexity of mind, self-love, inconstancy, and the snares of the devil.²

¹ This paragraph differs considerably from the corresponding paragraph in Castaniza, though showing some faint affinity with it.

² These last two paragraphs are wanting in Castaniza. The greater portion of this chapter is identical with the third section of chapter xiii. of Castaniza. Three paragraphs are incorporated from the text in the earlier portion of that chapter. The paragraphs on the wounds of the Crucified, the contemplation on a given object after death, the meditations on the Angelus and the Rosary, and the concluding counsels are of the nature of additions.

In reference to the "Memorare" an old friend writes:

"I have used the following every day for sixty years:—'Remember, O most holy Virgin, that no one ever had recourse to thy protection, implored thy help, or sought thy mediation without obtaining relief. Confiding, therefore,

CHAP. XXIV

THE TONGUE

Of the method of regulating the tongue

THE¹ tongue of man has great need of being well regulated and curbed,² for everyone is greatly inclined to let it run and chatter about those things which are most pleasing to our senses.³

Much speaking has its root for the most part in a certain pride, with which, while we persuade ourselves that we know much and find pleasure in our own conceits, we strive by excessive repetition to impress them on the minds of others, that we may gain the mastery over them, as if they stood in need of learning from us.

It cannot be expressed in a few words what evils are hidden by many words.

Talkativeness is the mother of idleness,⁴ the tool of

in thy goodness, behold me, a penitent sinner, sighing out my sins before thee, beseeching thee to adopt me for thy child, and to take upon thee the care of my eternal salvation. Despise not, O mother of Jesus, the petition of thy humble client, but hear and grant my prayer.'

"I forget the original Latin, but think the above 'non alienum a sensu orationis.'"

¹ The enlargement of chapter xiii. of 1652.

² St. James iii. 2: "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body."

³ St. James iii. 5: "Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

⁴ "Dell' accidia."

ignorance and folly, the gate of slander,¹ the minister of lies,² a chilling influence on devotional fervour.

Many³ words give force to the vicious passions,⁴ and by this again the tongue is moved to go on readily in its indiscreet talking.⁵

Do⁶ not indulge in long arguments with him who hears you unwillingly, lest you should weary him; and observe the same rule with him who listens readily, lest you overreach the limits of modesty.⁷

Avoid speaking with emphasis and in a high voice, for both are equally distasteful and are a sign of presumption and vanity.⁸

Never speak of yourself and of your doings and of your relations except of pure necessity, and then only as shortly and succinctly as you can.⁹ If others seem

¹ St. Francis says: "The slanderer, by a single stroke of his tongue usually commits three murders" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 29, p. 296).

² Prov. vi. 17: "A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood."

³ Wanting in 1652.

⁴ Eccl. v. 13: "Honour and shame is in talk: and the tongue of man is his fall."

⁵ St. Matt. xii. 36: "I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment."

⁶ The enlargement of 1652.

⁷ St. Francis de Sales says: "To be always babbling and chattering, without giving either an opening or opportunity to others to say what they wish, savours of flightiness and levity" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 30, p. 304).

⁸ Prov. xxvii. 14-15: "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him. A continual dropping in a very rainy day and a contentious woman are alike."

⁹ St. Francis de Sales gives similar counsel: "We call the glory vain which we give ourselves, either for that which is not in us, or for that which is in us but is not ours, or for that which is in us and is ours and yet does not merit the

to you to speak of themselves too much, make an effort to draw a good opinion from it, but do not imitate it, although their words tend to their own humiliation and self-accusation.

Of your neighbour and the things that concern him speak as little as you can, except to speak good of him when occasion offers.¹

Speak willingly of God, and specially of His love and goodness, but with some fear of being liable to err even in this;² and be ready to listen attentively when others speak of Him, keeping their words in the depth of your heart. In the case of other subjects let the sounding of their voices strike on your ears, but let your mind be lifted up to the Lord; for if indeed you must listen to anyone who is talking to you, that you may understand him and answer him, do not because of this forget to lift your eyes in thought to the heaven where your God dwells, and contemplate His loftiness as He is ever looking at your baseness.

When things occur to your heart that you wish to speak of, let them be well weighed by you before they pass to the tongue, for of many things you will be aware that it would be better that they should never be spoken out by you. But more than this, I warn you glory we give it. The nobility of our family, the favour of the great, popular esteem—these are things which are not in us, but are either in our predecessors or in the opinion of others" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 4, p. 181).

¹ St. Francis de Sales sums up his chapter on "Slander" with the words: "Recall the slanderer to himself in some gentle way; say something else which is good of the person accused, if you know it" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 29, p. 302).

² "If, then, you really love God, Philothea, you will often speak of God in the familiar way in which you speak with your servants, your friends, and your neighbours. . . . But speak always of God as of God, that is to say, reverently and devoutly" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 26, pp. 283-284).

that not a few indeed of the things which you may then think to be good to speak would be better buried in silence; and you will recognise it yourself when you think of it after the occasion of speaking is passed.

Silence, my daughter, is a great force in the spiritual conflict and a sure hope of victory.¹

Silence is the friend of the man who is distrustful of himself and trustful in God, and is the guardian of holy prayer, and a wonderful aid in the practice of the virtues.

To accustom yourself to be silent, frequently consider the losses and the dangers of talkativeness and the great benefits of silence, and learn to love this virtue; and from time to time, that you may acquire the habit, be silent even when it would not be wrong to speak, so that this do not prejudice either yourself or others.

It will be good for you also for this purpose that you keep away from society; for instead of men you will have for company the angels, the saints, and God Himself.²

¹ Ecclus. xx. 5-7: "There is one that keepeth silence, and is found wise: and another by much babbling becometh hateful. Some man holdeth his tongue, because he hath not to answer: and some keepeth silence, knowing his time. A wise man will hold his tongue till he see opportunity: but a babbler and a fool will regard no time."

² St. Francis de Sales, in his chapter "Of Society and of Solitude," says: "Seek society and shun it: these are the two extremes to be blamed in the devotion of those who live in the world, which is that of which I am speaking to you. . . . You ought to be sometimes in your room, in your garden, or elsewhere, where you may be better able, according to your own desire, to withdraw your spirit within your heart, and refresh your soul with good meditation and holy thoughts, or a little good reading" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 24, pp. 275-279).

Finally, remember the combat you have in hand ; for when you see how much you have to do in this, you will wish to avoid all excessive words.¹

CHAP. XXV

DISQUIETUDE

That to fight well against his enemies the soldier of Christ must avoid with all his might all trouble and disquietude of heart

AS² we must do all in our power to recover our peace of heart when we have lost it, so you ought to know that nothing in the world can happen which ought reasonably to take it away or at least disturb it.

Our own sins we ought indeed to lament, but with a quiet sorrow, in the manner which I have shown you above in more than one place ;³ so also without any disquietude of mind but with a godly feeling of charity we should feel pity for every other sinner, and weep at least inwardly over their sins.⁴

¹ This chapter forms the concluding portion of chapter xiii. of Castaniza on the means of governing the senses. It is, with one small additional paragraph, identical with the enlargement of 1652.

² This, the enlargement of 1652, forms the concluding part of chapter xv. of Castaniza.

³ Ch. iii. p. 90 ; ch. xiii. p. 119.

⁴ St. Francis, in his chapter on "Disquietude," says : "When, then, you are pressed with the desire of being freed from some evil, or of attaining some good, before all things place your spirit in a state of repose and tranquillity, calm your judgment and your will" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 11, p. 377).

As to other heavy and grievous trials that may happen to us, such as sickness, wounds, the death of our near relations, pestilence, war, fire, and similar evils, although they are for the most part renounced by men of the world as being a burden to our nature, yet by the grace of God we should as often as possible not only wish for them but also hold them dear, as being the just punishments of those who have done wrong, and as being occasions of virtue to the good ; for in respect of these things our Lord God finds pleasure in them, and, His will helping us, we shall pass through all the bitterness and contradiction of this life with a quiet and peaceful mind. And take it indeed as certain that any disquietude on our part is displeasing in His divine sight, because of whatever kind it is it is never separated from imperfection, and always proceeds from some evil root of self-love.¹

Therefore² always have a guard on the alert, that as soon as he discovers anything which may disturb you or disquiet you, he may give you warning of it, that you may take up arms to defend yourself, considering³ that all these evils and many others like them, though on the outside they may appear so, yet are not really evils, nor are they able to take away those things which are really good ; and that God orders them and permits them either for the good purposes already spoken of or for others which, if a source of doubt to ourselves, are in themselves most just and holy.

¹ St. Francis de Sales refers to this in the words : "The anger, fretfulness, and bitterness which we have against ourselves tend to pride and have their origin in self-love only, which is anxious and disturbed at the sight of its own imperfections" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 9, p. 209).

² This is the opening paragraph of the text in chapter xvi. of Castaniza.

³ This last part of the paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

And¹ so whatever happens, even though it be unfortunate, if we keep our mind calm we shall be able to do much that is good ; otherwise every practice of ours will bring forth little or no fruit.

Besides, when the heart is disquieted it is always exposed to the various blows of its enemies ; and, moreover, in such a state we are not able to see aright the direct path and the sure way of virtue.

It often happens that our enemy, since he dislikes this peace above all else as being a place where the Spirit of God dwells to bring about things that are great, tries under colour of friendliness to take it away from us by means of the various desires which have the appearance of good ; and the snare of these can be known among other signs by this, that they take away quiet from the heart.

Therefore, to repair so great a loss, when the sentinel gives you the sign of any new desire do not open your heart to it before, being free of any selfishness and wilfulness, you present it to God, and confessing your blindness and ignorance, pray Him earnestly that He will make you see by His light whether it comes from Him or from your adversary ; and then have recourse, when you can, to the advice of your spiritual father.

And although the desire may be of God, see that before you carry it out you mortify your excessive ardour, because the work which is preceded by such mortification will be far more grateful to Him than if it were done with the eagerness of nature ; indeed sometimes the mortification will be more pleasing to Him than the work itself.

And so driving away from yourself the desires

¹ The continuation of the text of Castaniza.

which are not good, and hesitating to give effect to those which are good until you have repressed your natural impulses, you will hold the fortress of your heart in peace and safety.

And to keep it altogether peaceful it is also necessary that you defend it and guard it from certain reproaches and inward regrets at your own conduct which come sometimes from the devil, although, since they accuse you of some failing, they seem to be from God. From their fruits you will know whence they come.¹

If they humble you, if they make you diligent in good works, and do not take away from you your confidence in God, then you ought to accept them with thanksgiving as from God. But if they confuse you and make you cowardly, distrustful, idle, and slow in doing right, take it for certain that they come from the enemy; and therefore follow up your practice without giving ear to them.

And² because, in addition to what has been said, disquietude more commonly arises in our heart by the occurrence of things that are contrary, you have two things to do to defend yourself from their blows.

One is that you should consider and see to what these occurrences are contrary, whether to the spirit or indeed to self-love and self-will.

For if they are contrary to self-will and love of yourself, your chief and leading enemy, you must not call them contrary things, but hold them as favours and helps from God in the Highest; and so with light heart and thanksgiving they ought to be received by you. *et cetera*

And if they are contrary to the spirit, yet you ought

¹ St. Matt. vii. 20: "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

² The rest of this chapter is wanting in Castaniza.

not to lose your peace of heart, as you will learn in the following chapter.

The other thing is that you lift up your mind to God, taking all things, with closed eyes and without further wish to know, from the merciful hand of Divine Providence as being full of good things of various kinds which you as yet know nothing of.¹

CHAP. XXVI

PERSEVERANCE

Of what we should do when we are wounded

WHEN² you find yourself wounded, from having fallen into some sin through your weakness, or even at times through wilfulness or evil intention, do not be a coward, and do not be disquieted by it, but turning yourself at once to God, say: "Behold, my Lord, what I have done of my own self; nor canst Thou expect from me anything but such falls into sin."

And³ here after a little delay debase yourself in your own eyes, grieve at the offence you have given to the Lord, and without confusion to yourself, be angry with your vicious passions, and chiefly with that which

¹ The first three paragraphs form the concluding sections of chapter xv. of Castaniza, the text to which they are an enlargement corresponding with chapter xxvi. in Scupoli. The following paragraphs form the text of chapter xvi. of Castaniza. The last five are wanting in both text and enlargement of Castaniza.

² The text of chapter xv. of Castaniza.

³ The first half of this paragraph is absent from Castaniza.

has caused your fall. Then go on to say : " Not¹ here, O Lord, should I have stopped, if Thou by Thy goodness had not held me."

And² then give Him thanks and love Him more than ever, wondering at His great mercy in that He, though offended by you, yet stretches forth His right hand that you may not fall again.

Lastly you will say, with great confidence in His infinite mercy : " Do³ Thou, O Lord, according to Thy will, forgive me, grant that I may never live apart from Thee or afar off, and that I may not offend Thee any more." And this done, do not spend your time in thinking whether God has forgiven you or not, because this is nothing else but pride, disquietude of mind, loss of time, and a snare of the devil, under colour of various pretexts which are good. Therefore, leaving yourself freely in the tender hands of God, follow up your own practice as if you had not fallen.

And if many times a day you happen to fall again and remain wounded, do what I have told you, with none the less trustfulness, the second, the third, and even the last time, as the first ; and despising yourself more and more, and with an increasing hatred of sin, force yourself to live more cautiously.

This practice is in the highest degree displeasing to the devil, both because he sees that it is most pleasing to God, and because he himself is put to confusion by it, finding himself overcome by him whom at first he had conquered. And so by various malicious means he tries to make us leave it off, and frequently gains

¹ The text of Castaniza.

² This and the opening words of the next paragraph are wanting in Castaniza.

³ The text of Castaniza.

his purpose through our own carelessness, and our too little watchfulness over ourselves.

And therefore if you find difficulty in this, so much the more must you do violence to yourself, repeating this practice more than once, even in a single fall.

And if after your fault you feel disquieted, confused, and distrustful, the first thing you must do is to recover your peace and tranquillity of mind, and with it your confidence ; and furnished with these arms, turn yourself again to the Lord ; for the disquietude you have because of sin has not for its object the offence you have given to God, but your own loss.

The method of recovering this peace is that you should for the time wholly forget your fall and give yourself to the consideration of the ineffable goodness of God, and how above measure He is ready and desirous of forgiving every sin, however serious it may be, calling the sinner by various means and in many ways to come to Him, and to be one with Him, that he may sanctify him in this life with His grace, and in the other make him eternally blessed with His glory.

And since with these and similar considerations you will have pacified your mind, you will turn to look at your fault, doing as I have told you above.

Then in the time of sacramental confession, which I exhort you to use frequently, go over all your faults, and with renewed sorrow and displeasure at the offence you have given to God, and with a resolution not to offend Him more, you will unfold them sincerely to your spiritual father.¹

¹ This, with the one or two additions noted, forms the text of chapter xv. of Castaniza. It is also the concluding chapter of this part of the *Spiritual Combat* (ch. vii.-xxvi.).

CHAP. XXVII

THE SNARES OF THE DEVIL

Of the order the devil uses to fight against and ensnare both those who wish to devote themselves to virtue and those who already find themselves in the bondage of sin

YOU¹ must know, my daughter, that the devil cares for nothing but our ruin, and that he does not fight with all in the same way.

And that I may begin to describe to you some of the many forms of combat, the devices and the snares he makes use of, I would place before you some different conditions of man.

Some find themselves in the bondage of sin, without any thought of freeing themselves from it.² Others wish to free themselves, but do not begin the undertaking.³ Others believe themselves to be walking by the way of virtue, and yet are far away from it.⁴ Others finally, after the acquisition of virtue, fall into greater ruin.⁵ And of all these we shall treat separately.⁶

¹ This chapter is wanting in Castaniza. It is introductory to chapters xxviii.-xxxii.

² Chapter xxviii.

³ Chapter xxix.

⁴ Chapter xxx.

⁵ Chapter xxxi.

⁶ The order planned out in this chapter suggests that the present text of Scupoli is later than that of Castaniza. These chapters, xxvii.-xxxii., form a complete whole, and are very largely independent of Castaniza.

CHAP. XXVIII

THE BONDAGE OF SIN

Of the combat and the snares the devil uses with those whom he holds in the bondage of sin

THE¹ devil, when he holds anyone in the bondage of sin, cares for nothing else but to blind him more and more, and to divert him from any thought whatever which might draw him on to a knowledge of his most unhappy life.

Nor does he only by other and different thoughts divert him from thoughts and inspirations which call him to conversion; but by occasions which are prepared and made ready he makes him fall into the same sin, or even into others which are greater. And his blindness becoming by this means thicker and blinder than ever, he plunges deeper and deeper into sin, and grows more and more accustomed to it: so from this to greater blindness, and from this fault to a greater, his wretched life runs as in a circle even unto death, unless God by His grace provide against it.

The remedy for this, as far as it concerns ourselves, is that whoever finds himself in this most unhappy condition may be ready to give place to the thought and inspirations which call him from darkness to light, crying with all his heart to his Creator: “Alas! my Lord, help me, help me quickly, do not leave me longer in this darkness of sin.” Let him not omit to repeat this over and over again, and to cry in this or in a similar way.

¹ This chapter is wanting in Castaniza.

And when he is able, let him run at once to his spiritual father, asking aid and counsel that he may be able to free himself from his enemy.

And if not able to go at once, let him have recourse with all haste to the Crucified, throwing himself before His sacred feet with his face on the ground, and sometimes to the Blessed Virgin, asking for mercy and help.

And know that in this haste lies victory, as you will learn in the next chapter.¹

CHAP. XXIX

THE DANGER OF DELAY

Of the art and the snares with which he holds those bound who, knowing their sin, wish to free themselves; and why our resolutions frequently fail in their effect

THOSE² who already recognise the evil life in which they are, and would wish to change it, are usually deceived and conquered by the devil with the following weapons: “Presently, presently”; “Cras, cras,”³ as the raven says.⁴

¹ This chapter is by this reference closely linked on to the next.

² The earlier paragraphs of this chapter are altogether wanting in Castaniza.

³ “To-morrow.”

⁴ “Ipsa res est quæ multos occidit, cum dicunt, Cras, cras: et subito ostium clauditur. Remansit foris cum voce corvina: quia non habuit gemitum columbinum. Cras, cras; corvi vox. Gome ut columbus et tunde pectus” (*S. Aug. Serm. lxxxii. 14*). “Quando corrigis, quando mutaris?

"I would wish first of all to discuss and despatch this business and intrigue, and then give myself with greater quiet to the spirit."

This is a snare which has taken many, and taken them often. And the cause of it is our sloth and idleness, because in a matter which concerns the salvation of the soul and the honour of God, we do not readily take up that most powerful weapon: "Now, now!" And why do we say, "Presently"? We do not say, "To-day, to-day!" Why do we say "Cras"? Let us say to ourselves: "But even if 'Presently' and 'Cras' were granted to me, will this then be the way of safety and victory, to wish first of all to receive wounds and to commit new disorders?"

So you see, my daughter, that to flee both from this snare and from that in the preceding chapter, and to overcome the enemy, the remedy is a ready obedience to thoughts and inspirations which are divine. Readiness, I say, and not resolutions, for these often fail, and many have remained deceived by these through various causes.

The first, which is also touched upon above,¹ is that our resolutions have not as their foundation distrust of ourselves and trust in God. Nor does our great pride, from whence springs this snare and blindness, allow us to see this.²

The light by which to know it, and the aid by

Cras, inquis. Ecce quotiens dicis, Cras, cras: factus es corvus. Ecce dico tibi, cum facis vocem corvinam, occurrit tibi ruina. Nam ille corvus, cuius vocem imitaris, exuit de arca, et non rediit. Tu autem frater redi in Ecclesiam, quam tunc illa arca significabat" (*S. Aug. Serm. ccxxiv. 4. Cp. Gen. viii. 7-9.*)

¹ Chapter vi.

² This paragraph slightly corresponds with a paragraph in chapter xvii. of Castaniza.

which we may find the remedy, comes from the goodness of God, Who permits us to fall, calling us by the fall from trust in ourselves to trust in Him alone, and from our own pride to a knowledge of ourselves.¹

And therefore if you wish that your resolutions should be efficacious, it is necessary that they should be brave; and then only will they be brave when they have nothing of trust in ourselves, and are all founded with humility on trust in God.

The other reason is that when we are moved to make a resolution, we wonder at the beauty and strength of virtue, which draws our will to itself however faint and weak it be; and then setting before it the difficulty which is needed to acquire it, being faint and untried it fails and draws back.²

Therefore accustom yourself to love the difficulties which the acquisition of the virtues brings before you, much more than the virtues themselves; and always go on strengthening your will with these difficulties, now by little and little, and now to a greater extent, if you would wish indeed to make yourself a possessor of the virtues.

And know that you will conquer yourself and your enemies the more readily and nobly, the more generously you embrace the difficulties, and the more dear they are to you.

The third cause is that our resolutions at times do not look to virtue and the will of God, but to our own interest; and this usually happens in resolutions which are wont to be made in the time of spiritual delight and

¹ This paragraph is likewise similar to a paragraph in chapter xvii. of Castaniza.

² This is also closely parallel with a paragraph in chapter xvii. of Castaniza.

of troubles which move us much ; nor do we find in this any other solace than to resolve to be willing to give ourselves wholly to God and to the practices of virtue.¹

That you may not fall into this, in the time of spiritual delight be very cautious and humble in your resolutions, particularly in promises and vows ; and when you find yourself troubled, let your resolutions be occupied in bearing your cross patiently as God wills, and in exalting it, refusing any earthly succour whatever and sometimes even that of heaven. Let your request be one, and your desire one, that you may be helped by God, that you may be able to bear every adversity without a stain on the virtue of patience, and without causing any regret to your Lord.²

CHAP. XXX

THE DANGER OF PRIDE

Of the snare of those who think themselves in the way of perfection

THE³ enemy being already conquered as above in the first and the second assault and snare, he has

¹ This also is equivalent to a paragraph in chapter xvii. of Castaniza.

² The three causes in this chapter correspond closely with the three occasions of failure which form the enlargement of chapter xvii. of Castaniza. In Scupoli they are fuller than in Castaniza. The early part of the chapter is wanting in Castaniza. The whole chapter has the appearance of being written in conjunction with the two previous chapters.

³ Wanting in Castaniza.

recourse, malignant one that he is, to a third ; which consists in this, that being forgetful of the enemies who actually are fighting against us and doing us damage, we occupy ourselves in desires and resolutions after other degrees of perfection.

Hence it happens that we are continually wounded, and yet do not care about our wounds ; and valuing such resolutions as if they were results, in various ways we grow proud.

And therefore, not willing to tolerate the least little thing or word which is distasteful, we even waste our time in long meditations, with resolutions to suffer great pains, and sometimes even the pains of purgatory, for the love of God.

And because in this matter the lower part feels no repugnance, the thing being far away, therefore we in our misery persuade ourselves that we are among those who in fact patiently endure great trials.

You, then, if you would avoid this snare, resolve to fight with the enemies who are close to you and who are really making war against you ; for in this way you will clearly know whether your resolutions are true or false, strong or weak, and will go on to virtue and perfection by the royal and beaten road.¹

But against enemies by whom you are not accustomed to be tormented, I do not advise you to fight unless you see that it is likely that they will soon assault you ; yet it is lawful for you sometimes to make resolutions, that they may find you prepared and strong.

Do not ever judge your resolutions by their results, although you may have for some time practised yourself in these virtues in the usual methods ; but be humble in them, fear yourself and your weakness, and

¹ "De regia via sanctæ Crucis" (*De Imit. Chr.* ii. 12).

trusting in God, have recourse to Him with frequent prayers that He will fortify you and guard you from danger, and specially from the least presumption and confidence in yourself.

For in this case, if indeed some little faults cannot be overcome, which the Lord sometimes leaves in us as a humble recognition of ourselves and as a protection of some good, yet it is lawful to make resolutions as to a higher degree of perfection.¹

CHAP. XXXI

THE DANGER OF SELF-CONFIDENCE

Of the snare and the conflict the devil makes use of that we may leave the way which leads to virtue

THE fourth snare set out above,² with which the devil in his malice assaults us when he sees that we are walking directly in the way to virtue, is that he stirs us up to good desires of different kinds, that by the practice of the virtues we may fall into vice.³

A⁴ person falling sick, is doing all he can to bear his sickness with a patient will; the cunning adversary, who knows that in this way he may gain the habit of patience, sets before him the many good works which he would be able to do in another condition, and forces him to persuade himself that if he

¹ The whole of this chapter is absent from both the text and enlargement of Castaniza.

² Chapter xxvii.

³ This introductory paragraph belongs to the grouping of this whole section on the snares of the devil.

⁴ The text of Castaniza.

were well he would serve God better, with profit to himself and even to others.¹

And when he has excited these wishes within him, he goes on increasing them little by little, so as to render him uneasy that he cannot give effect to them as he would.

And the greater and stronger they become in him, the more his disquietude increases. And by this means, very slowly, the enemy skilfully leads him on to be impatient of sickness, not as sickness but as a hindrance to those works which he anxiously wishes to accomplish for some greater good.

When, then, he has drawn him to this point, with the same skill he takes away from his mind the purpose of God's service and good works, leaving him the bare desire to be free from sickness.

And when that does not succeed according to his will, he is so far disturbed that he becomes really impatient. And so from the virtue which he was practising he falls into the vice which is contrary to it, without being aware of it.

The way to guard against this snare, and to resist it, is that when you find yourself in any such painful condition you should take care not to give place to the desire of any good whatever, which, not being then able to accomplish, would probably disturb you.

And² in this you ought to persuade yourself, with all humility, patience, and resignation, that your desires

¹ St. Francis de Sales says: "Now I say, Philothea, that we must have patience, not only to be ill, but to be ill with the illness which God wishes, in the place where He wishes, and amongst the persons whom He wishes, and with the inconvenience which He wishes" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 3, p. 176).

² The enlargement in Castaniza.

would not have the effect you think they would have, since you are much weaker and more inconstant than you think.

Or, indeed, think that God, in His hidden judgments or by reason of your demerits, does not wish this good from you, but that you should rather abase yourself and humble yourself patiently under the gentle and powerful hand of His will.

So, likewise, when you are hindered by your spiritual father, or by any other cause, so that you are not able of your own will to attend to your devotions, and particularly the Holy Communion, do not let yourself be disturbed and disquieted by the desire for them ; but being stripped of all that is your own, clothe yourself with the good pleasure of your Lord, saying to yourself : “ If the eye of the divine Providence did not see in me some ingratitude and fault, I should not now be prevented from receiving the Most Blessed Sacrament : therefore, seeing that my Lord is by this means revealing to me my unworthiness, may He be always praised and blessed for it. I trust, indeed, my Lord, in Thy supreme goodness, that it may be Thy will that, by bearing with Thee and pleasing Thee in all things, my heart may be disposed to do Thy holy will, and may be so opened to Thee, that when Thou enterest in spiritually Thou mayest console it and fortify it against the enemies who seek to take it from Thee. So may all be done which is good in Thine eyes. My Creator and Redeemer, may Thy will be now and always my food and sustenance.¹ This grace alone, dear Love, I ask of Thee, that my soul being purified and free from whatever is displeasing to Thee, may be always prepared by the adornment of the holy virtues

¹ Cf. St. John iv. 34 : “ My meat is to do the will of him that sent me.”

for Thy coming and for whatever it is Thy pleasure to order for me."¹

If you observe these warnings, know for certain that whatsoever desire of good you are not able to accomplish, whether it be caused by nature, or by the devil to disquiet you or take you away from the way of virtue, or indeed sometimes by God to make proof of your resignation to His will, you will always have the opportunity of satisfying your Lord in the way which is pleasing to Him. And in this consists the true service and devotion which God seeks from us.

I¹ would warn you, also, that you may not be impatient of any troubles, from whatever cause they may proceed, that when you make use of the lawful means which are accustomed to be used by the servants of God you should not use them with the desire and the hope of being freed from the trouble, but because God wills that you should use them; nor do we know if it is pleasing to His divine Majesty that we should free ourselves by this means.

For if you were to do otherwise you would soon fall into worse evils, because you would easily fall into impatience if the thing did not succeed according to your desire and hope, or your patience would be faulty, not altogether dear to God, and of little merit.

Finally,² I would warn you here of a hidden snare, the snare of our own self-love, which is accustomed on certain occasions to cover and defend our faults.

And³ so, for example, when anyone who is sick is little patient of his sickness, he hides his own impatience under the veil of some sort of zeal for that which

¹ This and the following paragraph are wanting in Castaniza.

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ The text of 1652.

seems to be good, saying that his distress is not really impatience of the trial which he endures from his sickness, but¹ a reasonable displeasure because he has given opportunity for it of himself, or indeed because others, by the bondage they hold him in or by other causes, are themselves feeling discomfort and loss from it.

Likewise the ambitious man who worries himself about the dignity he has not obtained, does not attribute it to his own pride and vanity, but to other causes, of which he knows quite well that he does not take any account at all on other occasions which do not bring him any anxiety. So neither, indeed, does the sick man care if the very same persons for whom he said that he was very sorry that they were troubled about him, are themselves bearing the same trouble and loss by the sickness of another.

And this is a sign sufficiently clear that the root of the sorrow of such as these is not for others, or indeed for any other reason but the abhorrence they have for things which are contrary to their will.

You, therefore, that you may not fall into this and other errors, bear always with patience any trouble and pain from whatever cause, as I have said, it may arise.²

¹ St. Francis de Sales gives also a warning against this impatience: "The enemy often procures us great desires for objects which are absent, and which will never present themselves to us, so as to turn away our spirit from the objects which are present, in which, small as they are, we shall be able to win great advantage. We fight the monsters of Africa in imagination, and for lack of attention we allow ourselves to be killed by the tiniest serpents which are in our path" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 37, p. 323).

² The greater part of this chapter corresponds with chapter xviii. of Castaniza. In Castaniza it forms the introduction to the sections on the "Deceit of the Devil," ch. xli.-xlii. and ch. xxxiv.-xxxvi., xxxviii.-xl. of Scupoli.

CHAP. XXXII

HUMILITY

*Of the last assault and snare set forth above, by which
the devil tries to make the virtues acquired by us the
occasion of ruin*

THE¹ cunning and malicious serpent does not cease to tempt us with his snares, even in the virtues which we have acquired, that they may be an occasion of ruin, while we, taking delight in them and in ourselves, lift up ourselves on high to fall again into the vice of pride and vain-glory.

To guard yourself, then, against this danger, fight always in the clear and safe field of a true and deep conviction that you are nothing, that you know nothing, that you can do nothing, that you have nothing but misery and faults, and that you merit nothing but eternal damnation.

And being shut in and established within the bounds of this truth, do not allow yourself to be drawn out of it even a pin's-point by any thought or thing whatever that may happen to you, holding it for certain that they are all so many enemies of yours, by whom, if you fall into their hands, you will be killed or wounded.

That you may practise yourself, indeed, to act in the above-named field of the true knowledge of your own nothingness, make use of this rule.

As often as you turn to the consideration of yourself and your works, think of yourself always as to that which is your own, and not that which is of God

¹ The text of chapter xix. in Castaniza.

and of His grace, and then judge of yourself as you find yourself to be as regards what is your own.

If you consider the time before you came into being, you will see that in all that abyss of eternity you were simply nothing,¹ and that you did nothing, nor were able to do anything that you might have your being.

In this time, then, that you have your being through the sole goodness of God, if you leave to Him what is His own (which is His perpetual government, with which He preserves you every moment), what are you as to that which is your own but a mere thing of nought? For there is no doubt that you would return in an instant to the nothing you were at first, from which His almighty hand took you, if He for only a single moment left you.

It is then clear that in this natural state, as you are in respect of that which is your own, you will have no reason to set any value on yourself or to wish to be thought of by others.

As to what concerns the well-being of grace and the working of good, your nature being stripped of the help of God, what good and meritorious thing would it ever be able to do for itself?

For considering, from the other side, your many faults in the past, and besides this the amount of other evil which would have proceeded from you if God had not held you by His merciful hand, you will find that your iniquities, by the multiplication not only of days and years, but even of acts and habits which are evil (since one vice calls another and draws it to itself), would have arrived at an almost infinite number, and

¹ St. Francis de Sales has a similar thought in his first meditation: "Consider that it is only so many years ago that you were not in the world, and that your existence was actually nothing" (*The Devout Life*, i. 9, p. 43).

that you would have become by them a second Lucifer of hell.

And therefore if you do not wish to lay violent hold of the goodness of God,¹ but rather to hold communion with your Lord, you ought day by day to think worse of yourself.

And take good care that this judgment which you pass upon yourself be accompanied by justice, for otherwise it may do you no little harm.

For if as to the knowledge of your own wickedness you have the start of one who, through his blindness, thinks himself to be something; yet you may lose much, and make yourself worse than he is in the works of the will, if you wish to be held in esteem by men and to be treated by them as being what you know you are not.

If, then, you wish that the knowledge of your malice and vileness should keep you far from your enemies and make you dear to God, you must not only despise yourself as unworthy of all that is good and worthy of all that is bad, but also hold it dear to be despised by others, loathing² honours, rejoicing in shame, and stooping on occasion to do all that which others despise.

And you must not give any weight at all to the judgment of such as these lest you give up this holy practice, provided that this be done by you for the sole purpose of your humiliation and discipline, and not for a certain presumption of mind and a certain pride of which you are not really conscious, by which at times under other fair pretexts little or no account is taken of the opinions of others.

¹ “Essere ladra della bontà di Dio”: to be a thief of the goodness of God, i.e. by counting as your own that which is really God's (E.H.N.).

² The enlargement of 1652.

And¹ if at times it should happen to you for some good end that God has granted to you to be looked upon as good, to be loved and praised by others, keep your own counsel, do not move at all from the abovenamed truth and justice; but turn first of all to God, saying to Him in your heart: "May I never, O Lord, lay violent hold of Thy honour and Thy grace: Tibi² laus, honor et gloria, mihi confusio"³; and⁴ then to him who is praising you, saying thus to yourself: "Whence is it that he thinks me good, if my God alone and His works are really good?" For if you act in this way, and give to the Lord His due, you will keep your enemies afar off and will fit yourself to receive greater gifts and favours from God.

And⁵ should the memory of your good works place you in danger of vanity, if you look at them at once, not as your own, but as God's, and speak of them in the same way, you will be able to say in your mind: "I do not know in what way you have appeared and have begun to have your being in my mind, for your beginning is not of me; but the good God and His grace have created you, nourished you, and preserved you. Him alone, therefore, do I wish to recognise as the true and chief Father, Him alone to thank, and to Him do I wish to give all praise for these things."

Consider, then, that all the works which you have done have always been not only little proportionate to the light and to the grace which have been given to you to know them and carry them out, but have been also

¹ The text of 1652.

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ "To Thee be praise, honour, and glory; to me be confusion." Cp. Daniel ix. 7-8.

⁴ The text of 1652.

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.

very imperfect, and indeed too distant from that pure intention and due fervour and diligence with which they ought to be accompanied and performed.

And¹ if you think carefully over them, you will have shame rather than vain pleasure in them ; for it is indeed too true that the gifts we receive from God in their purity and perfection, are stained by our imperfections when we use them.

Further,² compare your works with those of the saints and the other servants of God ; for in comparison with them you will know that the best and the greatest of yours are of much lower standard and value.

Comparing³ them also with those of Christ, which He worked for you in the mysteries of His life and His continual cross, and considering His works apart from His divine person, in themselves alone, and on account of the affection and purity of the love with which they were done, you will see that all your works are actually as nothing.

For if at last you raise your mind to the divinity and the infinite Majesty of your God, and the service which He claims, you will see clearly that not vanity but a great fear remains to you from every work of yours. And therefore⁴ in all your ways, in every work of yours, however holy it may be, you ought

¹ This is wanting in Castaniza.

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ This paragraph is absent from Castaniza.

⁴ St. Francis de Sales says : "Do works which are mean and humble as much as you can, though you may seem to do them grudgingly, for by this means you habituate yourself to humility and weaken your vanity, so that when temptation comes your inclination will not show it so much favour, and you will have more strength to fight against it" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 10, p. 374).

to say to your Lord with all your heart: "Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatrici."¹

I² would counsel you, moreover, not to be too ready to speak of the gifts which God has given you; for this is nearly always displeasing to your Lord, as He Himself clearly shows to us in the following teaching.

He appeared once in the form of a child to one who was devoted to Him, as it were a creature. He was asked by her quite simply that He would recite the angelic salutation, and he began at once: "Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus";³ and then He stopped, for He did not wish in the following words to praise Himself.⁴ And while she indeed prayed Him to repeat it further, He by hiding Himself left His servant comforted, revealing to her by His example this heavenly teaching.

Learn⁵ then, my daughter, to humble yourself, knowing that even with all your works you are as nothing.

This is the foundation of all the other virtues. God, before we existed, created us out of nothing, and now that we exist through Him wishes to base all the spiritual structure on this knowledge of ourselves, that we of ourselves are nothing. And the deeper we sink ourselves in that foundation, the higher will this structure rise. And in proportion as we dig out the earth of our wretchedness, so much more firmly will the divine architect lay the stones that He may advance

¹ "God, be merciful to me a sinner." *Cp. St. Luke xviii.*
^{13.}

² This is absent from Castaniza.

³ "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women [and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus]." *Cp. St. Luke i. 28, 44.*

⁴ I.e. "and blessed be the fruit of thy womb, Jesus."

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.)

the building. Do not persuade yourself, my daughter, that you can ever go down as deep as you should ; indeed take this measure of yourself, that if anything in creation could be infinite, such would be your own vileness.

In this knowledge, rightly used, we possess all that is good : without it we are little more than nothing, though we do the works of all the saints and are always devoted to God.¹

O blessed knowledge which makes us happy on earth and glorious in heaven ! O light which coming forth from darkness makes our souls bright and clear ! O unknown joy which shines amidst our uncleanness ! O nothing, which when known makes us masters of all !

I should never be satiated in speaking to you of this; if you wish to praise God, accuse yourself and be desirous of being accused by others. Humble yourself with all and under all if you wish to exalt Him in yourself, and yourself in Him.² If you desire to find Him, do not exalt yourself ; for He will flee. Abase yourself, and abase yourself as much as you can ; for He will find you and embrace you. And He will welcome you and clasp you to Himself in love so much the more dearly, the more you lower yourself in His eyes and find pleasure in being reviled by all and cast out as a thing which is abominable. Consider yourself unworthy of the great gift which your God, Who has been so reviled by you, has given to you to unite Himself with you, and do not fail to give Him continual thanks, and to hold yourself indebted to him who has given you the opportunity of doing so, and the more to those who have trodden you down or who think rather that you bear it unwillingly and of no

¹ "Occupati in Dio."

² Cp. St. Francis de Sales, *The Devout Life*, iii. 4-7.

good will. Even if this were so, you ought not to show any outward signs of it. If, notwithstanding these considerations, which are indeed too true, the cunning of the devil and our own ignorance and evil inclination should prevail in us, in such a way that the thoughts of our own exaltation do not cease to disquiet us and make impressions on our heart, then indeed it is time to humble ourselves so much the more in our own eyes as that we may see by this test that we have made little progress in the way of the Spirit and the loyal knowledge of ourselves, since we are not able to free ourselves from such hindrances which have their root in our own empty pride. So from the poison we shall draw honey, and health from our wounds.¹

CHAP. XXXIII

THE WAY OF PERFECTION

*Of some counsels for the conquering of the vicious passions
and the acquiring of new virtues.*

ALTHOUGH² I have said much to you of the method you ought to use to overcome yourself and adorn yourself with virtues, yet it remains for me to advise you of other things.

¹ This chapter forms the introduction to chapter xix. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. The earlier portion is the text in the edition of 1652, the later portion the enlargement. It is followed in Castaniza by sections corresponding to chapters xlvi., lxii.-lxvi. of Scupoli. In Scupoli this chapter forms a fitting conclusion to the treatment on the snares of the devil, and the dangers of delay, of pride, and of self-confidence.

² This chapter is wanting in Castaniza.

*First, Never allow yourself to be persuaded, if you wish to make an acquisition of the virtues, by those spiritual exercises which have set apart the days of the week by rote (as is said), one for one virtue, and the others for other virtues.*¹

¹ There is a reference to this practice in the *Tractatus de Caritate*, a treatise compiled from the *Tractatus de gradibus Caritatis* of Richard of St. Victor and the *Libri de Caritate Dei et proximi* of Peter of Blois. In this treatise the first day, Sunday, is set apart for the work of faith; Monday, for the work of hope; Tuesday, of temperance; Wednesday, of prudence; Thursday, of fortitude; Friday, of justice; Saturday, of love: “Quocirca fidem ponimus primum diem, quo fideles ab infidelibus, quasi lux a tenebris, separantur. Spes etiam secundæ diei vicem obtineat. . . . Temperantia quasi dies tertius illucescat. . . . Prudentia quasi dies quartus faciat quasi scientiæ lumen erumpat et inter facienda et non facienda discernens, dividat inter diem et noctem. . . . Fortitudo dies quintus, per quam in hoc mari magno et spatio, quasi pisces spirituales procellosa fluctuum volumina toleremus. . . . Constituatur denique justitia dies sextus, per quam ad divinam imaginem reformati, bestialibus desideriis, vitiisque reptibilis imperantes, corpus spiritui, spiritum Deo subjiciamus, et sic utrique quod secum est tribuatur. . . . Hæc est dormitio et septimæ diei tranquillissima quies, dies septimus est caritas, dies Sabbati, dies requietionis, jucunditatis et pacis, per quam homo secure immo securissime dicit: ‘In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam’” (*cp. S. Bern. Tom. ii. pp. 407-408, ed. Ben. Paris, 1680*). This portion of the treatise (*Tr. de Caritate, c. xiv.*) is attributed to Peter of Blois, *ob. c. 1200*. This mystical tendency is traceable to St. Augustine: “Habet etiam unusquisque nostrum in bonis operibus et recta vita tanquam distinctos istos sex dies, post quos debet quietem sperare. Primo die lucem fidei. . . . Secundo die tamquam firmamentum disciplinæ. . . . Tertio die, quo mentem suam ad ferendos bonorum operum fructus. . . . Quarto die . . . videt quæ sit incommutabilis veritas, quæ tanquam sol fulget in anima. . . . Quarum rerum notitia fortior effectus incipiat quinto die in actionibus turbulentissimi

But let the order of battle and your practice be to make war against those passions which have always done you harm and are most frequently assaulting you and harming you, and to adorn yourself as perfectly as you can with the virtues which are contrary to them.

For if you acquire these virtues you will quickly acquire all the others with ease and with few efforts, in those opportunities of acquiring them which are never wanting; since the virtues are always linked together, and he who possesses one perfectly has all the others ready at the door of his heart.

Secondly, Never set apart a special time for the acquisition of the virtues, neither days nor weeks nor years, but as if you were just born, and as a young¹ soldier, always fight and walk towards the height of their perfection.

Do not stop even for a second; for to stop in the way of the virtues and of perfection is not to take breath and recover strength, but to go back or become weaker than before.

By stopping I mean persuading yourself that you have acquired virtue completely, and taking at times too little account both of the opportunities which call to new efforts of virtue and of our smaller failings.

And therefore be prompt and eager and ready, that you may not lose even the least opportunity of virtue.

Love then all the opportunities which lead to virtue,

sæculi, tanquam in aquis maris operari. . . . Sexto autem die producet de terra animam vivam. . . . Post istorum quasi sex dierum opera bona valde, speret homo quietem perpetuam, et intelligit quid sit" (S. Aug. *De Genesi contra Manechæos*, Lib. i. c. xxv. *Op.* S. Aug., Tom. i. 662-663). . . . *Ex libris etiam datus anno mille et octinginta annis*

¹ "Novello," i.e. newly enlisted.

and especially those which are difficult to overcome, since the efforts which are made to overcome the difficulties form the habits more quickly and with a deeper root; and hold as dear those who give you these opportunities. Those only you must flee from at a quick pace, with all zeal and haste, which may possibly lead you into the temptation of the flesh.

Thirdly, Be prudent and discreet in those virtues which are able to cause harm to the body, as to afflict it with discipline, sackcloth, fasts and vigils, meditations, and other things of the same kind; for these virtues ought to be acquired by little and little, and by their several steps, as we shall point out immediately.¹

As to the other virtues, indeed, which are wholly inward, such as loving God, despising the world, debasing ourselves in our own eyes, hating the vicious passions and sin, being patient and meek, loving all, even those who offend you, and others of a like kind, there is no need that you should act little by little in order that you may acquire them, nor of mounting up

¹ Chapter xxxiv. St. Francis de Sales, in his chapter on "Outward Mortification," follows the same counsels of prudence and discretion: "As for me, Philothea, I have never been able to approve of the method of those who, when they are going to reform a man, begin with the outer part—with his face, with his clothes, with his hair. It seems to me, on the contrary, that we ought to begin with the inward part. . . . If you can bear fasting, you will do well to fast on some days beyond the fasts which the Church has commanded. . . . Discipline has a wonderful power in awaking the appetite of devotion when it is taken moderately. Sack-cloth mortifies the body effectively, but it is not usually suitable. . . . So to heal ourselves of our vices, it is indeed good to mortify the flesh; but it is above all things necessary to purify our affections and refresh our hearts" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 23, pp. 267-275).

step by step to their perfection ; but force yourself to make every effort as perfect as possible.

Fourthly, Let not your whole thought, desire, and heart think and desire and wish for anything else but to conquer that passion which you are combating, and to acquire the virtue which is contrary to it. Let this be all the world, the heaven, and the earth to you ; let this be all your treasure, and all for the purpose of pleasing God.

If you are eating or fasting, if you are tired, if you are resting, if you are watching, if you are asleep, if you are at home, if you are out of doors, if you are at your devotions, if you are engaged in manual work, let all be directed to overcoming and conquering the said passion and acquiring the virtue which is contrary to it.

Fifthly, Be altogether the enemy of earthly pleasures and convenience ; for in this way you will be assaulted by vices with but little force, for they all have pleasure for their root. And therefore if this is taken away by the hatred of ourselves, these will lose their force and strength.

For if you wish on one hand to make war with any particular vice and pleasure, and on the other hand to pay attention to other pleasures of the earth, even though they be not mortal but of small blame, hard will be the war, bloody and very uncertain and rare the victory. Therefore you will always keep in mind these divine sentences : “ Qui amat animam suam, perdet eam ; et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam custodit eam ” (St. John xii. 25).¹ “ Fratres, debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus. Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis,

¹ “ He that loveth his life shall lose it ; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.”

moriemini : si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis,
vivetis" (Rom. viii. 12).¹

Sixthly and lastly, I counsel you that it would be well and perhaps necessary that you should first of all make a general confession, with all those means which are usual, that you may be the more assured that you are in the grace of your Lord, from Whom all gifts and all victories are to be looked for.²

CHAP. XXXIV

MODERATION

That the virtues are to be acquired little by little, being practised through their several degrees, and by our paying attention first to one and then to the others

ALTHOUGH³ the true soldier of Christ who aspires to the summit of perfection ought never to place any limits at all to his gain, yet some cases of spiritual fervour ought to be curbed with a certain discretion ; for if embraced, more especially at the beginning, with too much ardour, they fail afterwards and leave us in the middle of the race. And therefore, besides what has been said as to moderation in out-

¹ "Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."

² This chapter is altogether wanting in Castaniza. It forms a fitting introduction to the chapters on the virtues which follow.

³ The enlargement of chapter xviii. 1 of 1652.

ward practices,¹ it should be known further that the inward virtues also ought to be acquired little by little and through their several degrees; for thus what is little becomes quickly that which is much and lasting.

And therefore (for example) in matters which are adverse we ought not ordinarily to practise them, and to rejoice in them and desire them, unless we have first of all passed through the lower degrees of the virtue of patience.

And I do not advise you to pay attention to all or many virtues at once, but to one only, and then to the others; for thus the virtuous habit is planted more easily and firmly in the soul; since, by the continued practice of one virtue alone, the memory at every opportunity runs to it the more promptly, the understanding is always more enlightened in finding new ways and reasons for acquiring it, and the will inclines itself to it more easily and with greater affection than it would if it was occupied in many virtues.

And the efforts in regard to one virtue alone, through the harmony they have among themselves, become by means of this regular practice less tiring; one calls and aids another which is like it, and by this likeness they also make a greater impression upon us, since they find the soil of the heart already prepared and disposed to receive those which are newly produced, having already given the first place to others in harmony with them.

And these reasons have the greater force the more it is known for certain that whoever is well practised in one virtue also learns the way to practise the others; and so by the increase of one all grow together, by

¹ Chapter xxxiii.

the inseparable union they have among themselves, since they are rays proceeding from one and the same divine light.¹

CHAP. XXXV

RESOLUTION

Of the means by which the virtues are acquired, and how we ought to employ ourselves in them by attending to them one at a time

TO² acquire the virtues, besides what we have said above,³ there is need of a mind which is generous and open, and of a will which is not faint or feeble, but resolute and strong, with a firm conviction of being obliged to pass through many things which are adverse and hard.

Besides this, there is a special inclination and affection which may be gained, if we frequently consider how pleasing they may be to God, how noble and excellent they are in themselves, and how useful and necessary to ourselves, since all perfection has its beginning and its end from them.

Every morning strong resolutions should be made to practise ourselves in them, according to the things which are likely to occur every day; and we ought frequently to examine ourselves as to those resolutions,

¹ This chapter forms part of the first subsection of chapter xviii. in Castaniza. It is preceded in Castaniza by the counsels against indiscretion which are given in chapter xlvi. of Scupoli.

² The enlargement of chapter xviii. 2 of 1652.

³ Chapter xxxiv.

whether we have carried them out or not, renewing them again more strongly than before. And all this particularly in regard to the virtue which we have then in hand.

Likewise¹ the examples of the saints, and our prayers and meditations on the life and Passion of Christ, which are so necessary in every spiritual practice, are all to be chiefly directed to that very virtue which we are then practising.

The² same should be done with all opportunities (as we shall show particularly further on), although they may be very different from one another.

Let us endeavour so to accustom ourselves to virtuous acts, both inward and outward, that we may perform them with that promptness³ and ease with which we have already performed others which are in harmony with our natural desires. And the more contrary they are to these (as we shall explain in another place⁴), the more quickly they will introduce the good habit into our soul.

The sacred sayings of divine Scripture uttered with the voice, or at least with the mind in the way which is fitting, have a wonderful power to help us in this practice. Therefore let many of those which bear upon the virtue we are practising be ready, and let them be repeated throughout the day, and chiefly when the contrary passion is rising within us; as, for example, if we are about to give attention to the acquisition of

¹ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ Promptness is essential to devotion. This is the teaching of St. Francis de Sales: "In short, devotion is nothing else than spiritual agility and vivacity, by means of which charity does its work within us, or we through it, promptly and heartily" (*The Devout Life*, i. 1, p. 21).

⁴ Chapter xxxviii.

patience, we shall be able to say the following, or other passages like them :—

Fili, patienter sustinete iram, quæ supervenit vobis (Bar. iv. 25).¹ Patientia pauperum non peribit in finem² (Ps. ix. 19). Melior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominatur animo suo, expugnatore urbium³ (Prov. xvi. 32). In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras⁴ (Luc. xxi. 19). Per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen⁵ (Heb. xii. 1).

Likewise, to the same end, you will be able to say the following and similar short prayers :—

When, my God, will this heart of mine be armed with the shield of patience ?

When shall I, to give satisfaction to my Lord, go through all my work with a quiet mind ?

O most dear sufferings, which make me like my Lord Jesus, Who suffered for me !

Will it ever be, sole Life of my soul, that for Thy glory I shall live content among a thousand sorrows ?

Happy shall I be, if in the midst of the fire of tribulations I shall burn with the desire of enduring greater things !

We should make use of these short prayers and of others which may be in harmony with our progress in the virtues, and which will teach the spirit of devotion.⁶

¹ “ My children, suffer patiently the wrath which is come upon you from God.”

² “ The poor shall not always be forgotten : the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever ” (Ps. ix. 18.)

³ “ He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty ; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.”

⁴ “ In your patience possess ye your souls.”

⁵ “ Let us run with patience the race that is set before us.”

⁶ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

These¹ short prayers are called ejaculatory, because they are like javelins and darts which are hurled towards heaven, and have great force in rousing us to virtue and penetrating to the heart of God, if they are accompanied by two things, as it were by two wings.

The one is the true knowledge of the satisfaction of our God in our practice of the virtues.

The other is a true and burning desire to acquire them for this end only, that His divine Majesty may take pleasure in them.²

CHAP. XXXVI

PROGRESS

That in the practice of virtue we must walk with a continual diligence

A MONG³ all the things which are most important and necessary for the acquisition of virtue, besides those which have been given above, one is this, that to arrive at the end which we have proposed to ourselves it is necessary to be always pressing forward; otherwise by the mere stopping we shall be going backwards.

For when we cease from acts which are virtuous, it follows of necessity that, through the violent inclination of the sensuous appetite and of other things

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² This chapter forms the first part of the second subsection of chapter xviii. of Castaniza. With the exception of the two paragraphs noted above, it is all comprised in the enlargement of 1652.

³ The enlargement of chapter xviii. 2 of 1652.

which move us outwardly, there are born in us many disordered passions, which destroy or at least diminish the virtues ; besides which we are deprived of many graces and gifts which we should have been able to obtain from the Lord by making progress. Therefore the spiritual way is different from the way which the traveller takes on earth ; since in this latter nothing of the journey already made is lost by stopping, as it is lost in the former.

And besides this, the weariness of the pilgrim of the world is increased by the continuation of bodily motion ; whereas in the way of the Spirit the more we press forward the greater force and vigour we always acquire.

For by virtuous practice the lower part, which by its resistance makes the path rough and tiring, is always more and more weakened ; and the higher part, where virtue is, is the more established and strengthened.

Therefore with the progress of good there is a continual lessening of the pain which we feel ; and a certain secret joy which mixes itself with the pain through the action of God becomes every hour greater. And as we always go on walking in this way with more ease and pleasure from virtue to virtue, we shall arrive finally at the summit of the mountain, where the soul which has been perfected works on then without weariness, even with pleasure and rejoicing ; for having already conquered and tamed the disordered passions, and being above all creation as well as above itself, it lives happily in the heart of the most High, and there even when working sweetly takes its rest.¹

¹ This chapter forms the second part of the second subsection of chapter xviii. in Castaniza. It is part of the enlargement of 1652.

CHAP. XXXVII

OPPORTUNITY

That if we wish always to continue in the practice of the virtues, we ought not to avoid the opportunities which are presented to us of acquiring them

WE¹ have seen sufficiently already that in the journey which leads to perfection it is fitting that we should always press forward without stopping.

To do this we should be most careful and watchful so as not to let any opportunity whatever slip from our hands which may present itself for the acquisition of the virtues. Therefore they are wrong who keep themselves as far away as possible from hurtful things which would be useful to this end.

For if you desire (not to depart from the usual example) to acquire the habit of patience, it is not good for you to withdraw from those persons, actions, and thoughts which move you to impatience.

And therefore you must not cut yourself off from any practices because they may be troublesome to you; but holding intercourse with and having dealings with anyone, whoever it may be, who may bring you trouble, keep your will always ready and prompt to endure anything whatever which may be disagreeable and distasteful to you: for if you do otherwise you will never accustom yourself to patience.

So likewise if any work bring you vexation, either by itself or by the person who has imposed it upon you, or because you turn aside from doing anything

¹ This chapter is wanting in Castaniza.

else but that which is agreeable to you, do not on this account cease from undertaking it and continuing it, even though you feel yourself disquieted and by leaving it might find rest; because in this way you would never learn to suffer, nor would your rest be a true rest, since it would not proceed from a mind purified from passion and adorned with virtue.

I would say the same to you of hurtful thoughts, which sometimes trouble and disturb the mind; for you must not drive them altogether away from you, since by the pain they give you they are also of use to you to accustom you to bear contradictions.

And he who says otherwise to you, would teach you rather to avoid the trouble you feel than to obtain the virtue you desire.

It is indeed true that it is fitting, especially for the young soldier,¹ to temporise and fence in such opportunities with care and skill, now facing them, now shunning them, according as he is more or less acquiring virtue and force of spirit.

But then he must never altogether turn his back and retire, in such a way as quite to leave behind every opportunity of contradiction; because if for the time we should save ourselves from the danger of falling, we should for the future be exposed with greater risk to the assaults of impatience, if we have not first of all been armed and made strong by the use of the contrary virtue.

These warnings, however, have no place in the vice of the flesh; with which we have already dealt particularly.²

¹ Cf. note on chapter xxxiii. p. 197.

² Chapter xix. This chapter, wanting in Castaniza, strengthens the teaching already given as to the way of walking in the path of perfection.

CHAP. XXXVIII

DIFFICULTY

That all the opportunities of fighting for the acquisition of the virtues ought to be valued, and especially those which bring the greatest difficulties

I¹ SHOULD not be satisfied, my daughter, that you should shun the opportunities which present themselves to you for the acquisition of the virtues; rather I would wish that, as if they were something of great value and esteem, they should be sought out by you and always embraced joyfully as soon as they appear; and that you should consider those most precious and dear to you which are the most displeasing to your sense.

This you will do, by the help of God, if you impress thoroughly on your mind the following considerations.

One is that opportunities are means which are proportionate to and even necessary for the acquisition of the virtues. And therefore when you ask these of the Lord, you should consequently ask those also, otherwise your prayer will be vain, and you will go against your own interests and tempt God, since He does not ordinarily give patience without trials, nor humility without humiliation.²

And so it may be said of all the virtues, of which there is no doubt that they are acquired by means of occasions of contradiction, which bring us so much the

¹ The enlargement of chapter xviii, 2 of 1652.

² St. Francis de Sales has a chapter on this subject, "That Humility makes us love our own Humiliation" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 6, pp. 191-195).

more help to this end, as they are on this account the more dear and agreeable to us the more troublesome they are ; because the efforts which we make in such cases are the more noble and the stronger, and open to us the road to virtue more easily and more quickly.

Therefore even the least opportunities, such as a look or a word against our will, must be valued and must not be left without being made use of ; since the efforts which they produce are more frequent though less pressing than those which are produced by us in important difficulties.

The other consideration (which I have already touched upon above) is that all things which happen to us come from God for our benefit, and that we may receive fruit from them.¹

And although concerning some of these, such as our own failings and the failings of others (as indeed we shall show in another place), it cannot be said that they are of God, Who does not will sin ; yet they are from God in so far as He permits them, and though He is able to hinder them, does not do so : but all the afflictions and pains which happen to us, either through our own faults or through the wickedness of others, are both from God and of God, since He concurs with them ; and what He would not wish to be done, because it contains a deformity which is hateful beyond measure to His most pure eyes, He wishes to be suffered for the virtuous benefit which we may be able to draw from it, and for other just reasons which are hidden from us.

Therefore, since we are more than certain that the Lord wishes us to endure willingly whatever trouble comes to us from others, or even from our own unjust

¹ Cf. chapter xviii.

doings, to say (as many do as a feigned excuse of their impatience) that God does not will, rather indeed that He abhors things which are wrongly done, is nothing else than by a vain pretext to cover our own fault and to refuse the cross which, we cannot deny, it is pleasing to Him that we should bear.

So I would say moreover that, the rest being equal, the Lord loves rather in us the endurance of those pains which spring from the wickedness of men (especially if they have been previously favoured and benefited), than the troubles which come from other grievous accidents; and this because the proud nature is ordinarily more repressed in the former than in the latter, and also because if we suffer them willingly we are satisfying and exalting our God above measure, working with Him in a matter in which His own ineffable goodness and omnipotence shines out supremely—that is, in drawing the precious and acceptable fruit of virtue and of welfare from the deadly poison of malice and of sin.

Therefore know, my daughter, that no sooner does the Lord discover in us a living desire to do it in very deed, and to give attention as we ought to so glorious an acquisition, than He prepares for us the cup of such stronger temptations and harder opportunities as may be, that we may take it in His time; and we, as being mindful of His love and of our own good, ought to receive it willingly with closed eyes, and drink it quite safely and promptly to the very dregs, since it is a medicine made up by a hand that cannot err, of ingredients which are so much the more useful to the soul the more bitter they are in themselves.¹

¹ This chapter forms the third part of the second subsection of chapter xviii. of Castaniza. It forms the last portion of the advice for the getting of virtue.

CHAP. XXXIX

PROMPTNESS

*How we may be able to make use of different opportunities
for the practice of one and the same virtue*

IT¹ has been seen above² how the practice of one single virtue is sometimes more fruitful than that of many together; and that relatively to that the opportunities which we meet with should be regulated, though they be different in themselves. Now observe how this may be attained sufficiently easily.

It may happen in one and the same day or hour that we may be reproved for some action, which may however be good, or which may be whispered about us by another; that some favour which has been asked by us or some quite little thing may be roughly denied to us; that evil may be suspected of us without cause; that some bodily sickness may come upon us; that some distasteful little matter may be impressed upon us; that some dish may be brought to us which is badly seasoned; or other things of greater importance and harder to bear may happen to us, of which this miserable human life is full.

In the variety of these and similar things that may happen, although they may produce different acts of virtue, yet, if we wish to keep the rule which has been made, we shall go on in our practice with efforts all of them suitable to the virtue which we have at that time on hand, as, for example:

If at the time the said opportunities occur we are

¹ The enlargement of chapter xviii. 3 of 1652.

² Chapters xxxv.-xxxviii.

about to practise ourselves in patience, we shall put forth efforts to bear them all willingly and with joy of mind.

If our practice is of humility, we shall recognise ourselves in all these contradictions to be worthy of all evil.

If of obedience, we shall submit ourselves promptly to the almighty hand of God, and at His pleasure (since He so wills) to reasonable creatures and even to the inanimate things from which these things come which are so distasteful to us.

If of poverty, we will content ourselves in being spoiled and deprived of all consolation, whether great or small, which there is in this world.

If of charity, we will produce acts of love both towards our neighbour, as an instrument of the good which we are able to acquire, and towards the Lord God, as the first and loving cause from whom those trials come forth and are promised to us for our practice and spiritual profit.

And from this which we say as to the different things which may happen every day, it may be understood at the same time how in a single opportunity of weakness or other trouble which may continue for a long while, we may be able to go on doing acts of that virtue which we are then practising.¹

¹ This chapter forms the first part of the third subsection of chapter xviii. of Castaniza. It is part of the enlargement of 1652.

CHAP. XL

SPIRITUAL PROFIT

Of the time which should be taken in the practice of each virtue, and of the signs of our profit

AS¹ to the time in which we ought to continue in the practice of each virtue, it is not for me to determine; since this must be ruled by the condition and need of each person, by the progress which is being made in the way of the Spirit, and by the judgment of him who is guiding us along it.

But if we should give attention to it in the manner and with the care which we have said, there is no doubt that in a few weeks we should profit considerably.

A sign of having profited in virtue is when, amid the dryness and darkness and sorrow of the soul and the removal of spiritual delights, we go on steadily progressing in our virtuous practices.

Another sign which is also a sufficiently clear indication of this profit, is the contrast which sensuality makes in the carrying out of the acts of virtue: for the more this loses its force, the more we shall be aware of having advanced in virtue. And therefore, when we do not feel contradiction and rebellion in the sensual and lower part, especially amongst sudden and unexpected assaults, we may regard this as a sign that we have already acquired the virtue.

And the greater the promptness and cheerfulness of spirit by which our efforts are accompanied, so much the more shall we be able to consider that we have profited in this practice.

¹ The enlargement of chapter xviii. 3 of 1652.

It should be noticed therefore that we ought never to think, as something which is certain, that we are possessors of virtues and altogether victorious over each of our passions, even though after much time and after many struggles we may not have felt their motions; for in this also the astuteness and the workings of the devil and our own deceitful nature are able to have some place; and therefore at times that is vice which by some hidden pride appears virtue. Besides this, if we look at the perfection to which God calls us, however much we may have made progress in the way of virtue, we shall not be able to persuade ourselves that we have even entered upon its first borders.

Therefore, as a young soldier, and as it were only just born to the combat, always renew your practice as from the beginning, as though you had done nothing before.¹

And remember, my daughter, that you should take care rather to make progress in the virtues than to make an examination of your own profit; for the Lord God, who is the true and only searcher of our hearts, allows some to know this, others not to know it, according as He sees whether humiliation or pride would result from such knowledge; and as a loving Father, from some He removes the danger, and to others He offers the opportunity of exercise in virtue.

And therefore, although the soul does not recognise her own progress, let her at least follow her own practice; for she will see it when it pleases the Lord that she should see it, to her own greater benefit.²

¹ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

² This chapter forms the last part of the third and concluding subsection of chapter xviii. of Castaniza. It corresponds, with the exception of one additional paragraph, to the enlargement of 1652.

CHAP. XLI

PATIENCE

That we ought not to allow ourselves to give way to the wish to be free from troubles which we bear patiently ; and of the way to regulate all our desires that we may be virtuous

WHEN¹ you find yourself in any trouble, however painful it may be, and are bearing it with a patient mind, take care never to allow yourself to be persuaded by the devil or by your own self-love to desire freedom from it, for two great evils will happen to you if you do.

The one is, that if this desire does not at once take away from you the virtue of patience, at least it will slowly dispose you to impatience. The other is that your patience will be rendered defective, and will be rewarded by God solely for that space of time you have suffered; whereas if you have not desired freedom, but have submitted yourself wholly to the goodness of God, though your suffering in effect may have been only for an hour, or even less, the Lord will have recognised it as a service of very long duration.

Wherefore in this and in all things, hold it as a universal rule to keep your desires as far as possible from any other object, that you may look purely and simply to their true and only end, which is the will of God; for in this way they will be just and right, and you will be not only quiet but content in any difficulty which may happen; for,² since nothing is able to happen

¹ The text of chapter xviii. of 1652.

² This passage and the succeeding paragraph are wanting in 1652.

without the supreme will, you, if you desire that, will at the same time come both to will and to have all that you desire and all that follows upon it at any time.

This, which is not meant of the sins of others or of your own sins, since God does not will them, takes place in every trial which comes from them or from other causes, although it may be so violent and may penetrate so far within that, touching the very bottom of the heart, it may even dry up the roots of natural life; for this is indeed the cross with which it is pleasing to God to favour at times His most intimate and devout friends.

And this that I say of the patience which you must have, in every case you must understand as much of that portion of each trouble which remains, and which it is the Lord's will that we should bear after the lawful means for delivering ourselves from it have been employed by us.

And indeed even these ought to be regulated by the disposal and will of God, who has ordained them that we may make use of them, because He so wills, and not by any attachment on our part, nor because we love and desire freedom from trials, beyond that which actually is of His own service and pleasure.¹

¹ The greater part of this chapter corresponds with the conclusion of the opening portion of chapter xviii. in Castaniza. It agrees closely, except in two paragraphs, with the text in Castaniza.

CHAP. XLII

INDISCRETION

Of the method of resisting the devil when he seeks to deceive us by means of indiscretion

WHEN¹ the devil in his cunning sees that with eager and well-ordered desires we are walking straight along the way of the virtues, since by open devices he is not able to draw us to his own side, he transforms himself into an angel of light,² and by friendly thoughts, and sentences of the Scripture, and the examples of the saints urges us with importunity to walk indiscreetly on the height of perfection, to make us fall headlong afterwards. Therefore he gives us strength to chastise the body harshly by discipline—abstinence, sackcloth, and other similar hardships—so that either we may become proud by thinking that we are doing great things (which particularly happens to women), or that we may, if some sickness comes upon us, become unskilful in good works; or indeed that at last, as a result of too much toil and pain, spiritual practices may become wearisome and distasteful to us, and so little by little becoming lukewarm in that which is good, with greater greed than before we give ourselves up as a prey to earthly pleasures and pastimes. This has happened to many who, following with spiritual

¹ The enlargement of chapter xviii. 1 of 1652.

² St. Francis de Sales gives a similar warning against this snare of the devil: "The enemy, when he sees a soul quick to consent to inspirations, frequently proposes those that are false, that he may deceive it" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 18, p. 145).

presumption the impulse of an indiscreet zeal, have perished in their own inventions, the measure of their own virtue being surpassed by immoderate outward sufferings, and have become a laughing-stock to evil spirits. And this could not have happened to them if they had given good consideration to these things, and remembered that painful acts of this kind, though they may be praiseworthy and bring forth fruit where there are strength of body and humility of spirit corresponding to them, yet have need of a temperament fitting to the quality and nature of each.

And to him who cannot labour with the saints in his harshness of life, there are not lacking other opportunities of imitating their life, by strong and effectual desires and fervent prayers, since he may aspire to the most glorious crowns of the true soldiers of Jesus Christ, by despising the world altogether and himself also; by giving himself up to silence and solitude;¹ by being humble and meek with all; by suffering evil and doing good to anyone who is most disagreeable; and by watching against even the very lightest fault: for this is more acceptable to God than the practices of bodily asceticism, in which I counsel you rather to be discreetly sparing, that you may be able to increase them if need be, than by certain excesses to run the risk of constraining yourself at length to give them up; because I am indeed persuaded that you are not going to fall into the error of some who, though held to be spiritual on other grounds, when allured and deceived by their deceitful nature are too diligent in preserving the health of their bodies. And they show themselves so jealous and anxious about it, that at the merest pin-prick they are always in

¹ Ch. "De amore solitudinis et silentii" (*De Imit. Chr.* i. 20).

doubt and in fear of losing it. And there is nothing of which they think more and talk about more willingly than the ordering of their lives in regard to their health. And therefore they are continually thinking how to have dishes suited rather to their taste than to their stomach, which often becomes weakened by over-excess of delicacy. And whereas this is done under the pretext of being better able to serve God, it is nothing else than a wish to make accord between two deadly enemies, the spirit and the body, without any benefit to either, but with loss to both the one and the other : since by over-carefulness health is taken away from the one and devotion from the other.

And therefore in this respect a certain freedom of living is safer and more profitable, not however unaccompanied by that discretion of which I have spoken—having regard to different conditions and temperaments, which are not all subject to the same rule.

And I add that not only in outward things, but even in the acquisition of the inward virtues we ought to act with some moderation ; as has been shown above¹ in the acquisition of the virtues step by step.²

¹ Chapter xxxiv.

² This chapter forms the first part of the subsection of chapter xviii. in Castaniza. The same moderation of counsel is shown by St. Francis de Sales in the chapter on the “ Exercises of Outward Mortification ” (*The Devout Life*, iii. 23, p. 267).

CHAP. XLIII.

RASH JUDGMENT

How far our own evil inclination and the instigation of the devil may draw us on to judge our neighbour rashly ; and of the way to offer them resistance

FROM¹ the above-mentioned² vice of self-conceit and self-esteem another springs which may bring to us the most serious harm ; and this is the rash judgment of our neighbours, by which we come to hold them in contempt, to despise them, and to think meanly of them. And this defect, as it takes its rise from evil inclination and pride,³ so it is fostered and nourished by them willingly, because with the fault itself pride also goes on increasing, humouring and deceiving us insensibly ; since without our being aware of it, the more we presume to exalt ourselves, the more we lower others in our own opinion, judging ourselves to be far from those imperfections which we imagine to be in them.

And the cunning devil, who perceives in us this most evil disposition of mind, is ever on the watch to open our eyes and keep us awake, that we may look at and examine and exaggerate the failings of others. It is not believed, it is not known by those who are careless,

¹ The enlargement of chapter xix. 1 of 1652.

² Chapter xxxii.

³ St. Francis de Sales, in his chapter on "Rash Judgments," says : "Some judge rashly not by sourness but by pride, thinking that the more they disparage a man's honour, the more they raise their own" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 28, p. 289).

how much the devil works and studies to impress upon our minds the small defects of this or that person, not being able to impress upon us the great ones.

Therefore if he is watchful to do you harm, be awake also yourself, so as not to fall into his snares, and as soon as he represents any fault of your neighbour to you, withdraw your thought from it at once ;¹ and if, indeed, you feel moved to pronounce judgment, do not allow yourself to be persuaded ; and consider that this faculty has not been given to you : and even if it had been, you would not have been able indeed to give right judgment, since you are encompassed by a thousand passions, and indeed are too much inclined to think evil without just cause.

But as an effectual remedy against this, I would remind you to be occupied by the thought of the needs of your own heart, for every hour you will perceive the more that you have so much to do and to labour in and for yourself, that you will not have time or will left to mind the things of others.

Besides, if you attend to such a practice in the way you should, you will always the more be purifying your eye within from those evil humours whence springs this pestilent vice.

And know that when you maliciously think any evil of your brother, some root of the same evil is in your heart ; and this according as it finds itself evilly disposed, so it receives in itself any similar object that it meets with.

Therefore when it comes into your mind to judge

¹ St. Francis de Sales says : "The just man, when he can no longer excuse either the fact or the intention of him whom otherwise he knows to be a good man, does not wish to form a judgment on it, but puts it away from his mind and leaves the judgment to God " (*The Devout Life*, iii. 28, p. 293).

others of some defect, despising yourself, as culpable of the same evil, you will say in your mind : " How should I, wretched as I am, buried in this and more serious faults, how should I dare to lift up my head to see and judge those of others ? "

And so the weapons which when directed against others would wound you, when used against yourself will bring health to your wounds.

For if the wrong which has been committed is clear and open, excuse it with a feeling of pity, and believe that there are in your brother hidden virtues, for the defence of which the Lord permits him to fall and to have this fault for some time, that he may hold himself the more vile in his own eyes, and by being also despised by others for this fault, he may derive from it the fruit of humiliation, and may become more acceptable to God, and so his gain may come to be greater than the loss.

And if the sin is not only open, but serious and the outcome of an obstinate heart, have recourse in thought to the tremendous judgments of God, where you will see men who were at first most wicked to have afterwards reached the goal of great sanctity ; and others from the highest state of perfection, to which they seem to have attained, to have fallen into the lowest pit of misery.

And therefore be always in fear and trembling of yourself, more than of any other.

And be quite certain that all the good and kindly feeling you have of your neighbour is a fruit of the Holy Spirit, and all contempt, rash judgment, and bitterness against him comes from your own malice and the suggestion of the devil.

Therefore if any imperfection in another should have made an impression upon you, do not give yourself any

rest, nor any sleep to your eyes until to the best of your power you have taken it away from your heart.¹

CHAP. XLIV

PRAYER

Of prayer

IF² distrust of ourselves, trust in God, and practice are as necessary in this combat as has been so far shown, above all prayer is necessary (which is the fourth point and the fourth weapon set forth above³), for by it we are able to obtain not only those but all other good things from our Lord God.

For⁴ prayer is an instrument for obtaining all the graces which are showered down on us from that divine source of goodness and of love.

By⁵ prayer (if you use it aright) you will place a sword in the hand of God, so that He will fight and conquer for you.

And⁶ to make use of it aright there is need that you

¹ This chapter corresponds exactly to the first subsection of chapter xix. of Castaniza. It is to be read together with the chapter of St. Francis de Sales on the same subject. It is itself based on the counsels of the *De Imitatione*: "Ad te ipsum oculos reflecte, et aliorum facta caveas judicare. In judicando alios, homo frustra laborat, sæpius errat, et leviter peccat; se ipsum vero judicando et discutiendo, semper fructuose laborat" (*De Imit. Chr.* i. 14). This chapter forms the conclusion of another division of the *Spiritual Combat*.

² The text of 1652.

³ Chapter i.

⁴ This paragraph is wanting in the edition of 1652. In its place is a section on prayer which is wanting in Scupoli.

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.

⁶ The text of 1652, with some differences.

should be skilled, or that you should strive to be skilled in the following points.

First, That there should always be alive in you a true desire to serve His divine Majesty in all things, and in the way which is most pleasing to Him.

To¹ kindle this desire in you, consider :

That God by His most marvellous excellences, His goodness, His majesty, His wisdom, His beauty, and His other infinite perfections, is above all else most worthy of being served and honoured.

That to serve you He has suffered and endured thirty-three years ; and has healed and cured your festering wounds which were poisoned by the malignity of sin, not with oil, and wine, and pieces of lint,² but with the precious drops which flowed from His most sacred veins, and with His flesh, torn in its purity by the scourges, the thorns, and the nails.

And besides this, think what this service means, since by it we become masters of ourselves, superior to the devil, and sons of God Himself.

*Secondly,*³ There must be in you a living faith and trust that the Lord wishes to give you all that you need for His service and for your good.

This⁴ holy trust is the vessel that the divine mercy fills with the treasures of His gifts, and the larger and the more ample it is the richer will prayer return to our own bosom.⁵

And how can the Lord, who is unchangeable and almighty, fail to make us partakers of His gifts, when He Himself has commanded us to ask them of Him, and promises us also His Spirit if we ask It with faith and perseverance ?

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² St. Luke x. 34.

³ The text of 1652.

⁴ The enlargement of 1652.

⁵ Ps. xxxv. 13.

*Thirdly,*¹ That you should draw near in prayer with the intention of being willing to do God's will alone, and not your own will, as well in asking as in obtaining what you ask ; that is, that you should be moved to pray because God wishes it, and that you should desire to be heard only so far as He wills. In short, your intention ought to be to unite your will to the divine will, and not to draw God's will to your own.

And² this because your will, since it is infected and spoiled by self-love, is frequently in error, and does not know what it asks ; but the divine will is always united with ineffable goodness and can never err. And therefore it is the rule and the queen of all other wills, and deserves and wishes to be followed and obeyed by all.

And therefore such things as are in harmony with the good pleasure of God must always be asked. And if you are in doubt as to what such a thing is, you will ask it with the condition of wishing for it if the Lord wills that you should have it.³

And those things which you know for certain are pleasing to Him, such as the virtues, you will ask more for the purpose of giving Him satisfaction and rendering service to Him than for any other end or purpose, however spiritual it may be.

*Fourthly,*⁴ That⁵ you should enter upon your prayer adorned with works corresponding to your requests, and that after prayer you should strive more than ever to make yourself fit for the grace and virtue you desire.

¹ The text of 1652.

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ St. Matt. xxvi. 39.

⁴ The text of 1652.

⁵ This paragraph is wanting in the edition of 1652.

For¹ the practice of prayer must be so accompanied by the practice of mastering ourselves that the one may follow circling round the other ; for otherwise, to ask for any virtue and not to make an effort to have it would be nothing else than rather to tempt God.

*Fifthly,*² That for the most part thanksgivings for benefits received should go before your requests, in this or in a similar way : “ My Lord, who hast created and redeemed me by Thy goodness, and on occasions so innumerable that I myself do not know them, hast freed me from the hands of my enemies, help me now, and do not deny me what I ask of Thee, even though I have always been rebellious against Thee and ungrateful to Thee.”

And if you are about to ask any particular virtue, and have at hand something which is trying you, with the view of practising that virtue do not forget to give Him thanks for the opportunity He has given you by it ; for this is indeed no small benefit from Him.

Sixthly, Because prayer takes its force and power from inclining God to our desires by the goodness and mercy which are natural to Him, from the merits of the life and Passion of His only-begotten Son, and from the promise He has given us that He will hear us, you will conclude your requests with one or more of the following petitions : “ Grant me this grace, O Lord, for Thine infinite pity’s sake. May the merits of Thy Son obtain for me in Thy presence that which I ask of Thee. Remember Thy promises, O my God, and incline Thyself unto my prayer.”

And sometimes you will also ask for gifts by the merits of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints,

¹ The text of 1652.

² The enlargement of 1652.

who have much power in the presence of God, and are much honoured by Him, because in this life they showed honour to His divine Majesty.

Seventhly, It is needful that you should persevere in prayer, because ¹ humble perseverance conquers the Invincible; for if the assiduity and importunity of the widow in the Gospel inclined the judge, who was full of all wickedness, to her requests (St. Luke xviii.), will it not have force to draw to our prayers the very fulness of all that is good?

And ² therefore, although after prayer the Lord may delay to come and hear us, and even may show signs that are unfavourable to us,³ yet go on praying and having a firm and living trust in His help, since ⁴ there never lack in Him, indeed there abound in Him in more than infinite measure, all those things which are necessary to bring about other gifts.

And ⁵ if the fault is not on your side, be assured indeed that you will always obtain all that you ask, or else what will be more useful to you, or indeed both these together.

And ⁶ the more you seem to be repulsed, the more you should humble yourself in your own eyes, and considering your own unworthiness, with a steadfast thought of the mercy of God, you will always increase your trust in Him, and this being kept living and constant the more it is attacked, so much the more will it be pleasing to our Lord.

¹ This sentence is absent from the edition of 1652.

² The text of 1652. It is preceded in Castaniza by a short paragraph on hope.

³ E.g. the summer of 1907.

⁴ This concluding paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

⁵ This is also wanting in the edition of 1652.

⁶ The text of 1652.

Render then thanks to Him always, recognising Him as good and wise and loving, no less when some things are denied you than if they are granted to you; remaining steadfast whatever happens, and joyful in a humble submission to His divine providence.¹

CHAP. XLV

MENTAL PRAYER

What mental prayer is

MENTAL² prayer is a lifting up of the mind to God with an actual or virtual request for that which is desired.

Actual³ prayer is offered when by words mentally uttered grace is asked for, in this or a similar way: "O Lord, my God, grant me this grace to Thy honour." Or in this way: "O my Lord, I believe that it is pleasing to Thee and that it is for Thy glory that I should ask for and should have this grace; fulfil then now Thy divine pleasure in me."

And when you are indeed attacked by enemies you will pray in this way: "Be ready, O my God, to help me, that I may not yield to my enemies"; or

¹ This chapter is closely parallel to the edition of 1652, and corresponds with chapter xxi. of Castaniza. The text attributed in that edition to Castaniza consists of little more than the outline and statement of the several aids to prayer. The greater part is due to the enlargement.

² The text of 1652.

³ The order in which the actual and the virtual are considered is transposed in Castaniza.

indeed : “ My God, my refuge,¹ the strength of my soul, help me at once that I fall not.”²

And while the conflict lasts, continue also this method of prayer, always resisting manfully him who is fighting against you.³

And when the fierceness of the warfare is past, turning to your Lord, present to Him the enemy who has fought against you, and your own weakness in resisting him, saying : “ Behold, O my Lord, him who was created by the hands of Thy goodness, redeemed by Thy blood. Behold Thine enemy who has tried to take him from Thee and to devour him. To Thee, O my Lord, do I turn, in Thee alone do I trust, for Thou art almighty and good, and seest my weakness and my readiness apart from Thy aid to subject myself willingly to him. Help me then, my hope, and the strength of my soul.”

Virtual prayer is meant when the mind is lifted up to God to obtain some grace, showing Him our need without any other words or reasons.

For example, when I raise my mind to God, and there in His presence recognise that I am powerless to defend myself from evil and to do what is right, and inflamed with the desire to serve Him, humbly and faithfully waiting for His help, I gaze and gaze again on the Lord Himself.⁴

And⁵ this knowledge thus gained, inflamed with desire or faith towards God is a prayer which virtually

¹ Ps. xlvi. (xlv.) 1.

² The prayer is wanting in the text of Castaniza.

³ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

⁴ “ Prostrate before Thy throne to lie,
And gaze and gaze on Thee.”

(Rev. F. W. Faber, *Hymns A. and M.*, 169.)

⁵ The enlargement of 1652.

asks for what I need ; and the clearer and more sincere this knowledge is, and the more inflamed the desire and the more living the faith, so much the more efficacious will be the prayer.

There¹ is also another kind of virtual prayer which is more restrained, which consists in a simple glance of the mind to Godward, to the end that He may help us ; and this glance is none else than a tacit remembrance and request for that grace which we have before asked for.

And take care that you learn aright this kind of prayer and make yourself familiar with it, because (as experience will show you) it is a weapon which you can easily have at hand in every opportunity and in every place, and is of more value and help than I can say.²

¹ The text of 1652.

² This chapter corresponds with chapter xxii. of Castaniza, except that in Castaniza virtual prayer is described before actual prayer. St. Francis de Sales does not distinguish between mental prayer and meditation : "Above all I counsel the practice of mental prayer, the prayer of the heart, and particularly that which concerns itself with the Life and Passion of our Lord. By gazing on Him frequently in meditation, your whole soul will be filled with Him" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 1, p. 85). The mental prayer of Scupoli does not go further than devout contemplation. It avoids all detail as to ecstasy and other mystical practices.

CHAP. XLVI

MEDITATION

Of prayer by way of meditation

IF¹ you wish to pray for some length of time, for half an hour it may be, or even for a whole hour² and more, you will join to your prayer the meditation on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ, always applying His actions to that virtue which you desire.

For example, if you desire to obtain as a grace the virtue of patience, you will perchance take for meditation some points in the mystery of the scourging.³

Firstly, How, after the order given by Pilate, the Lord was dragged by the ministers of wickedness, with shouts and mockery, to the place appointed for the scourging.

Secondly, How He was stripped by them in haste and fury, and His flesh, in its spotless purity, left altogether exposed and naked.

Thirdly, How His innocent hands were bound together by a rough cord to the column.

Fourthly, How His body was altogether torn and lacerated by the scourges, so that streams of His divine blood ran down to the ground.

Fifthly, How blows upon blows falling in one and

¹ The text of chapter xxiii. of 1652.

² "Employ an hour a day in meditation, before dinner if possible, in the early part of your morning's work" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 1, p. 87).

³ In the text of Castaniza the mystery of the crucifixion is taken.

⁴ These and the following paragraphs differ from the parallel meditation of Castaniza.

the same place, the wounds already made were always more and more irritated.

When¹ you have thus set before you these or similar points of meditation that you may acquire patience, you will first of all apply your senses to feel as vividly as possible the most bitter anguish and the sharp pains which in each part of His most sacred Body, and in all together, your dear Lord endured.

Then² you will pass to His most holy Soul, penetrating as far as possible the patience and meekness with which He bore so great afflictions, and yet not satisfying the hunger of suffering greater and more horrible torments for the honour of His Father and for our benefit.

Gaze then on Him, burning with a lively desire that you may bear your trouble, and see how, still turning to the Father, He prays for you that He may deign to give you grace to bear with patience the cross which is now tormenting you, and any other whatever.

And then, bending your will again and again that it may be willing to bear all with a patient mind, turn your mind again to the Father; and thanking Him first that of His pure love He has sent His only-begotten Son into the world to bear so many hard torments and to pray for us, ask of Him again the virtue of patience in virtue of the works and the prayers of His dear Son.³

¹ This application is briefly touched upon in Castaniza.

² The text of 1652.

³ This corresponds, with the one exception mentioned, to chapter xxiii. of Castaniza.

CHAP. XLVII

MEDITATION AND PRAYER (*continued*)

Of another means of prayer by way of meditation

YOU¹ will also be able to pray and to meditate in another way. When you have attentively considered the afflictions of the Lord, and seen in thought the readiness of mind with which He endured them, from the greatness of His troubles and from His patience you will pass to two other considerations: the one of His merit, the other of the satisfaction and the glory of the Eternal Father through the perfect obedience of His Son in the Passion.

And representing those two things to His divine Majesty, you will ask in virtue of them the grace which you desire:

And this you will be able to do not only in each mystery of the Passion of the Lord, but in every particular act, whether inward or outward, which He did in each mystery.²

¹ The text of chapter xxiv. in Castaniza.

² This corresponds with chapter xxiv. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

CHAP. XLVIII

MEDITATION AND PRAYER (*continued*)

Of a method of prayer by the aid of the Blessed Virgin Mary

BESIDES¹ the above there is another method of meditation and prayer, by the aid of the Blessed Virgin Mary, turning the mind first of all to the Eternal God, then to the Blessed Jesus, and lastly to the most glorious Mother herself.

Turning to God, consider two things: one, the delights which He of Himself took from eternity in Mary, before she had her being from nothing. The other, her virtues and actions after she was born into the world.

The delights you will meditate on in this way. Raise yourself on high in thought above all time and above every creature, and entering into the very eternity and mind of God, consider the pleasures which He of Himself took in the Blessed Virgin Mary; and amongst these having found God Himself, in virtue of them ask assuredly grace and strength for the destruction of your enemies, and in particular the one who is now attacking you.

Passing then to the consideration of the great and singular virtues and actions of the most Blessed Virgin herself, and presenting them sometimes all together, sometimes one by one to God, in virtue of them ask of His infinite goodness all that you need.

And then turning your mind to the Son, you will

¹ The text of chapter xxv. of 1652.

bring to His memory the Virgin's womb which bore Him for nine months ; the reverence with which, after He was born, the Virgin adored Him and recognised Him as very Man and very God, her Son and her Creator ; the eyes of pity with which she looked on Him in His poverty ; the arms which embraced Him ; the loving kisses with which she kissed Him ; the milk with which she nourished Him, and the labours and anguish which she endured for Him in life and in death. And by virtue of those things you will do sweet violence to the divine Son that He may hear you.

Turning last of all to the most Blessed Virgin, call to her memory that by the eternal providence and goodness she was chosen as the Mother of grace and pity, and as our Advocate. And therefore, after her own Blessed Son, we have no surer and more powerful recourse than to her.

Moreover remind her of that truth which is written of her, and which rests on so very many miraculous effects, that there is never one who invokes her in faith but she has answered in her pity.

Finally, you will place before her the troubles of her only Son, which He bore for our salvation, praying her that she will obtain grace from Him that to His glory and honour they may have in you that result for which He bore them.¹

¹ This corresponds to chapter xxv. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

CHAP. XLIX

MEDITATION AND PRAYER (*continued*)

Of some considerations why in faith and trust we should have recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary

IF¹ you wish to have recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary in faith and trust in every need you have, you will be able to obtain it by the following considerations.

First, We know already by experience that all those vessels² in which musk or some other precious liquor has been stored retain the scent of it though it be no longer there ; and they retain it the more, the longer it has been there ; and still more, if even in some way some of it has remained in them ; even though musk, as well as every precious liquor, is of a virtue which is limited and restricted. As also one who is near a large fire retains its heat for some time, even though he be at some distance from the fire.

This being true, with what fire of love, with what sense of mercy and pity, shall we say that the heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been warmed and is full ? Because for nine months she bore in her virgin's womb the Son of God, and always bears Him in her bosom and her heart, Him who is love and mercy and pity itself, her heart is full not merely of virtue which is limited and restricted, but of that which is infinite and without bounds.

So that, as one who draws near to a large fire cannot but receive of its heat ; so, and much more, will everyone who is in need, and who draws near with

¹ This is wanting in 1652.

² This comparison is after the manner of St. Francis de Sales.

humility and faith to the fire of love, of mercy, and of pity, which always burns in the heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, receive help, favour, and grace in abundance; and so much the more if he frequently draws near to her in great faith and trust.

Secondly, No creature ever loved Jesus Christ so much, or was so much in harmony with His will, as His most Blessed Mother.

If then the Son of God Himself, who spent all His life and spent Himself wholly for the need of us sinners, has given us His mother as our Mother and Advocate, that she may help us and be after Him a means of our salvation, how can she, our Mother and our Advocate, ever fail us, and become a rebel to her Son's will? *It never yet happened*

Run then, my daughter, with confidence in every need of yours to the most Blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, for rich and blessed is this trust and safe the refuge you have in her, since she always brings forth grace and mercy in abundance.¹

CHAP. L

MEDITATION AND PRAYER (*continued*)

Of a method of meditation and prayer by the aid of the Angels and all the Blessed.

THAT² in this you may win the help and favour of the Angels and the Saints in heaven,³ you will be able to use two methods.

¹ This chapter is wholly wanting in Castaniza.

² The text of 1652.

³ Cp. *The Devout Life* of St. Francis de Sales, ii. 16, p. 133.

One is that you should turn to the Eternal Father and present to Him the love and the praises with which He is extolled by all the heavenly Court, and the labours and pains which the Saints have suffered on earth for love of Him; and by virtue of these things you may ask of His divine Majesty all that you have need of.

The other is that you should have recourse to these glorious Spirits, as to those who not only desire our perfection but that we should be set in a higher place than themselves, asking their succour against all your vices and enemies, and also for their defence of you when you are at the point of death.

And sometimes you will give yourself to the consideration of the many and singular gifts which they have received from the supreme Creator, stirring up in yourself a lively affection of love and of joy towards them because they are rich in so many gifts, as if indeed the gifts were your own.

Even you will rejoice more, if it is possible, that they have them and not you, since such was the will of God, who for this may be praised and thanked by them.

And to practise this with order and ease, you will be able to divide the hosts of the Blessed through the days of the week in this manner.

Sunday,¹ you will take the Nine Choirs of Angels.

¹ This order is different in Castaniza. It reads :

"Upon Sunday, meditate on the Nine Choirs of Angels.
Upon Monday, on the Choir of the holy Apostles.
Upon Tuesday, on that of the glorious Martyrs.
Upon Wednesday, on that of the blessed Bishops.
Upon Thursday, on that of the holy Doctors.
Upon Friday, on that of the holy Confessors.
Upon Saturday, on that of the sacred Virgins."

Monday: St. John the Baptist.

Tuesday: the Patriarchs and Prophets.

Wednesday: the Apostles.

Thursday: the Martyrs.

Friday: the Bishops with the other Saints.¹

Saturday: the Virgins with the other holy women.²

But never omit on each day to have recourse frequently to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Queen of all the Saints, to your guardian Angel, to St. Michael the Archangel, and to all your patron³ Saints.

And⁴ each day pray the Blessed Virgin Mary, her Son, and the heavenly Father to grant you so great a favour as to give you as your chief patron and protector St. Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin, having then recourse to this Saint with prayers and with confidence that he will receive you under his protection.

Many⁵ things are told of this glorious Saint, and of the many favours which those have received from him who have held him in reverence, and have had recourse to him not only in their spiritual but also in their temporal wants, and particularly in directing the devout in the way of praying and meditating aright.

And⁶ if on the other Saints God sets so great a

The list in Scupoli would appear to be the older one. The introduction of St. John the Baptist and the Patriarchs and Prophets, makes it necessary to include the Doctors and the Confessors with the Bishops on the Friday, in the words: "I Pontifici con gli altri Santi." Does not the prominence given to St. John the Baptist point to Italy? It is to be noted that the list in chapter xxvi. of the edition of 1656 corresponds with that in Scupoli.

¹ "Santi."

² "Sante."

³ "Avvocati."

⁴ The enlargement of 1652.

⁵ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

⁶ The enlargement of 1652.

value, because when living amongst us they rendered Him obedience and honour, how much must we believe that he is held in esteem by Him, and how high a value in His presence the prayers of this most humble and most happy Saint must have, who was so honoured on earth by God Himself that He was willing to be subject unto him¹ and to obey him and serve him as a father.²

CHAP. LI

MEDITATIONS ON THE PASSION

Of meditation on the Passion of Christ, to draw from it different affections

THAT³ which I have said above⁴ as to the Passion of the Lord may serve for prayer and meditation by way of petition; and now I would show further how we may be able to draw from the Passion itself different affections.

You are proposing to yourself (for example) to meditate on the crucifixion; and in this mystery among other points you may be able to consider the following.

*First,*⁵ How, when the Lord was being roughly

¹ St. Luke ii. 51.

² This chapter on the whole agrees with chapter xxvi. in Castaniza.

³ The text of chapter xxvii. of 1652.

⁴ Chapter xlvi.

⁵ These five points are wanting in Castaniza. They would appear to be by the same hand as the five points of meditation on the scourging in chapter xlvi. The text in Castaniza is much shorter, merely referring to the purple robe, the crown of thorns, the scourging, and the spitting.

stripped by the enraged people on Mount Calvary, His flesh, which in consequence of the previous scourging had stuck to His clothes, was torn in pieces.

Secondly, How the crown of thorns was taken off His head, and then when put back again was the cause of new wounds.

Thirdly, How He was cruelly fastened to the cross by the blows of the hammers and nails.

Fourthly, How when His sacred limbs did not reach the openings made for that purpose, they were drawn by these dogs with so much violence, that all His bones being dislocated could be numbered one by one.

Fifthly, How when the Lord hung on the hard wood with no other support but the nails, His most sacred wounds were enlarged and aggravated with unspeakable pain by the weight of the body as it pressed downwards.

When¹ by these and other points you wish to stir up in yourself the affection of love, endeavour by your meditation on these points to pass on to higher and higher knowledge of the infinite goodness of your Lord and His love towards you, since He was willing to suffer so much for you ; for the more this knowledge increases in you, the more will love grow likewise.

By the same knowledge of the goodness and infinite love which the Lord Himself has shown to you, you will easily desire contrition and grief at having so often and with so much ingratitude offended your Lord, who for your iniquity has been maltreated and wounded in so many ways.

To increase your hope, consider that a Lord so great has fallen into this condition of great misfortune

¹ The text of 1652.

to destroy sin and to free you from the snares of the devil and from your own particular misfortunes, to make His Eternal Father propitious to you, and to give you confidence to have recourse to Him in all your need.

You will feel joy when you pass from His sufferings to their fruits—that is, that by them He takes away sins from the whole world, He pacifies the wrath of the Father, confounds the Prince of darkness, kills death, and fills up the seats of the Angels.¹

Arouse yourself moreover with joy at the satisfaction which all the Most Holy Trinity receive from them, together with the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Church triumphant, and the Church militant.²

To stir you up to a hatred of your sins, apply all the points you meditate upon to this sole end, as if the Lord suffered for no other reason but to lead you to the hatred of your evil inclinations, and of that especially which rules you most and is most displeasing to His divine goodness.

To move you to wonder, consider what can be greater than this, to see³ the Creator of the world, Who gave life to all things, persecuted to death by His creatures, to see the supreme Majesty trodden under foot and insulted, His justice condemned, the beauty of God spitted

¹ It was held by St. Augustine that the places of the fallen angels were to be taken by the redeemed: “Alia vero rationa-
is quæ in hominibus erat, quoniam peccatis atque suppliciis
et originalibus et propriis tota perierat, ex ejus parte reparata,
quod angelicæ societati ruina illa diabolica minuerat, supple-
retur. Hoc enim promissum est resurgentibus sanctis, quod
erunt æquales angelis Dei” (S. Aug. *Enchiridion*, c. xxix.).

² This is followed in Castaniza by two paragraphs which are wanting in Scupoli.

³ This meditation is treated differently and under six heads in the text of Castaniza.

upon, the love of the heavenly Father hated, that light which is inward and inaccessible brought under the power of darkness, the glory itself and happiness itself accounted as the disgrace and scorn of the human race and sunk into the abyss of extreme misery.

That¹ you may have sympathy with your Lord in His sorrow, besides meditating upon His outward sufferings, penetrate in thought to the other and without comparison greater sufferings which tormented Him inwardly. For if you are afflicted by the former, by these it will be a wonder how your heart is not broken by grief.

The soul of Christ saw the divine essence as now He sees it in heaven ; He knew it to be beyond measure most worthy in every way of all honour and service, and through His ineffable love towards it He desired that all creatures should be employed in this service with all their might.

And therefore when, on the other hand, He saw it so grossly offended and insulted by the infinite faults and the abominable crimes of the world, He was at one and the same time pierced by infinite pangs of grief. And the more they tormented Him, the greater was His love and desire that the Majesty of the Highest might be honoured and served by all.

And as the greatness of this love and desire cannot be understood, so there is no one who can arrive at the knowledge of how bitter and hard for this reason was the inward affliction of the crucified Lord.

Moreover, since He loved all creatures beyond all words, in proportion to this love He suffered exceedingly for all their sins, by which they were to be separated from Him ; because for every mortal sin which all men

¹ This and the following paragraphs are wanting in Castaniza.

have committed and ever will commit, now and in the future, as often as anyone sins he will separate himself as far from the soul of the Lord as he was before united with it by love.

A separation so much the more painful than that of our bodily members when they are dislocated from their natural position: by how much the soul, being pure spirit and more noble and more perfect than the body, is on this account more capable of pain.

Among those sufferings for His creatures, that was the most bitter which the Lord tasted for all the sins of the damned, who not being ever able to be reunited to Him were to suffer incomparable torments for eternity.

And if the soul softened by its love of Jesus passes further on in thought, it will find in Him, in His pity for them, sufferings indeed far graver not only by reason of sins which have been committed, but by reason of those also which have not been committed; because there is no doubt that our Lord gains for us both the pardon of the former and preservation from these latter at the cost of His own precious trials.

There will not be wanting to you, my daughter, other considerations to lead you to have sympathy with your Lord in His Passion.

For there has not been, nor ever will be, any sorrow in any reasonable creature whatsoever which He has not felt in Himself.

The wrongs, the temptations, the shame, the chastisements, and all the misery and trouble of all men in the world tormented the soul of Christ more acutely than they did the souls of those themselves who suffered these things.

For all their afflictions, great and small, of soul and body, even to the smallest pain in the head and the merest pin-prick, our most merciful Lord sees perfectly, and of His immense charity wishes to be in sympathy with and to impress upon His heart.

But how much the sufferings of His most holy Mother grieved Him, there is no one who can possibly explain ! For in every way and in every respect as the Lord sorrowed and suffered, so also in all these, though not so intensely, yet nevertheless most bitterly, did she the Blessed Virgin sorrow and suffer.

And these sorrows of hers themselves renewed the inward wounds of her Blessed Son, and His most blessed heart was wounded as if by so many arrows inflamed with love ; and through the many torments of which I have spoken, and through others almost infinite in number which are hidden from us, it could well be said to be an impassioned hell of voluntary sufferings, as it has been described by a devout soul who with holy simplicity was in the habit of calling it by this name.¹

If you, my daughter, consider aright the cause of all the sorrows which our crucified Redeemer and Lord bore, you will find it nothing else than sin.

And therefore it follows clearly that the true and chief compassion and thanksgiving which He seeks from us, and which we owe to Him, beyond all words is that we should sorrow simply for love of Him for the pain we have caused Him, that we should hate sin above all else, and fight manfully against all His foes and our own evil inclinations ; for having put off the old man² and his works, we should clothe ourselves

¹ "Un amoroso inferno di voluntarie pene."

² Col. iii. 9-10.

with the new man, adorning our mind with the evangelical virtues.¹

CHAP. LII

MEDITATIONS ON THE PASSION (*continued*)

Of the profit we can derive from the meditation on the Crucified, and from the imitation of His virtues

AMONG² the other advantages, which are many, which you ought to draw from this holy meditation, this should be one : that you should not only sorrow over your past sins, but should also be troubled that there should live in you those disordered passions which have placed your Lord upon the Cross.

Another, that you should ask of Him pardon for your own faults and the grace of perfect hatred of yourself, that you may not offend Him any more ; indeed, as a recompense for all His trouble on your behalf, that you may love Him and serve Him perfectly for the future, for without this holy hatred this cannot be done.

The third, that you should persecute every evil inclination of yours even unto death, however small it may be.

The fourth, that with all your power you should make an effort to imitate the virtues of the Saviour,

¹ The first part of this chapter is nearly identical with chapter xxvii. of Castaniza, though there are differences and additions as noted above. The last few paragraphs are altogether wanting in Castaniza, and seem to show some difference of style and treatment.

² The enlargement of 1652.

Who has suffered not only to redeem us by making satisfaction for our iniquity, but also to give us an example to follow His holy footsteps.

Here I would propose to you a method of meditation which will serve for this purpose.

If then you desire to acquire (for example) patience by imitating your Christ, consider the following points.

First, That which the soul of Christ in His passion does towards God.

Secondly, That which God does towards the soul of Christ.

Thirdly, That which the soul of Christ does towards Himself and His most sacred body.

Fourthly, That which Christ does towards us.

Fifthly, That which we ought to do towards Christ.¹

Most of all then consider how the soul of Christ, when it is wholly intent on God, is astonished as it sees that infinite, incomprehensible greatness, in comparison with which all created things are a mere nothing, subjected (though immovable in its own glory) to endure on earth the most unworthy treatment for the sake of man, from whom it has not received anything but unfaithfulness and wrongs, and how it adores Him, thanks Him, and offers itself wholly to Him.

Secondly, Look closely at that which God does towards the soul of Christ, how He willed it and drove it to bear for us the buffeting, the spitting, the blasphemies, the scourges, the thorns, and the cross, revealing to it His pleasure in seeing it altogether overwhelmed with insults and troubles.

Thirdly, From this pass to the soul of Christ, and

¹ Note the five points in the meditations in chapter xlvi, and in chapter li. Both these were in passages wanting in Castaniza. This meditation is included in the enlargement in Castaniza.

think how, when with its intellect which is altogether light it perceives how great is this pleasure in God, and when with its affection which is altogether fire it loves His divine Majesty above all measure, and when for His infinite merit and for the immense duties which it owes Him it is invited by Him to suffer for love of us and for our example, it disposes itself contentedly and happily to obey promptly His most holy will.

And who can penetrate within those profound desires which that most pure and most loving soul has from this? Here it finds itself as it were in a labyrinth of troubles, always searching and not finding (as it would wish to find) new methods and ways of suffering. And therefore it freely gives itself wholly and its most innocent flesh (since it does with it what it wishes) to be divided and devoured by wicked men and the devils of hell.

Fourthly, After this look at your Saviour Jesus, Who, turning to you with eyes of pity, says: Behold, my daughter, where, for not wishing to do yourself a little violence, your immoderate desires have led me. Behold how much I suffer, and how joyfully, for love of you, and to give you an example of true patience. By all my sorrows I beseech you, my daughter, that you will bear this cross willingly, and every other which is more pleasing to me, leaving yourself indeed in the hands of all the persecutors whom I shall give to you, however vile and cruel they may possibly be against your honour and your body! Oh, if you knew the consolation that I have from it! But you could indeed see it in these wounds, which as costly jewels I have received to adorn your poor soul with precious virtues, your soul which is beloved by me above all your worth. And if for this I am reduced to such an extreme pass,

why, my dear spouse, will you not suffer a little to give satisfaction to my heart and to soften those wounds which your impatience has caused me, since it is this impatience more than the wounds themselves which has afflicted me so bitterly ?

Fifthly, Think then well Who it is Who thus reasons with you, and you will see that it is the King of glory Himself, Christ, Who is very God and very Man. Consider the greatness of His torments and His dis-honour, which would be undeserved by the most infamous thief in the world. Look at your Lord amid so many insults not merely motionless and patient to a wonderful degree, but that He rejoices in them as in His marriage. And that, as the fire burns up the more when a little water is put on it, so by the increase of torments which was small in comparison with His excessive love, the joy and the desire to suffer greater torments grew ever more and more. Consider that the Lord in His great kindness has suffered and worked all this, not by force nor in His own interests, but (as He has said to you¹) for His own love towards you, and that you may practise yourself in the virtue of patience in imitation of Him ; and while you penetrate indeed to that which He wishes from you, and to the satisfaction you give to Him by practising yourself in this virtue, you may bring forth acts of inflamed desire to bear not only patiently, but joyfully, your present cross and every other, however heavy it may be, that you may imitate your God and give Him greater consolation.

And placing before the eyes of your mind the dis-honour and the bitterness He tasted for you, His constancy and His patience, be ashamed when you think that your own is merely a shadow of patience, and that

¹ St. John xv. 13.

your own is not real sorrow and reproach. And fear and tremble lest even the least thought of not wishing to suffer for the love of your Lord should find an occasion of shutting itself up even for a little within your heart.

This crucified Lord, my daughter, is the book that I give you to read, from which you will be able to draw the true portrait of every virtue. For being the book of life, not only does it teach the intellect by word, but it inflames the will by a living example. The whole world is full of books,¹ and yet all of them together are not able to teach you the way of acquiring all the virtues so perfectly as we can acquire them by gazing on the crucified God.

And know, my daughter, that those who spend many hours in weeping over the Passion of our Lord and considering His patience, and then in the adversities which come upon them show themselves as impatient as if they had learnt everything but this in prayer, are like the soldiers of the world, who promise themselves great things in their tents before the battle, and then when they meet the enemy throw down their arms and take to flight. And what can be more foolish and wretched than this, to see as in a bright mirror the virtues of the Lord, to love them and to wonder at them, and then to forget them indeed and neglect to value them when the opportunity of practising them presents itself?²

¹ Eccles. xii. 12.

² The whole of this chapter corresponds with the two sections which form the enlargement of chapter xxvii. in the English edition of Castaniza.

CHAP. LIII

THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

Of the most Holy Sacrament¹ of the Eucharist

HITHERTO,² my daughter, I have (as has been already seen³) provided you with four weapons which you need to conquer your enemies and with many counsels to exercise them aright; but now it remains that I should propose to you another, which is the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.⁴

For as this Sacrament is above all the other Sacraments, so this fifth weapon is superior to all the others.

The four above named⁵ derive their value from the merits and the grace which the blood of Christ has merited for us; but this weapon is the blood itself and the flesh, with the soul and divinity of Christ.⁶

¹ "Del Santissimo Sacramento." Christopher Sutton, the contemporary of Scupoli, uses the same term in his *Godly Meditations upon the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

² This chapter is wanting in Castaniza.

³ Chapter i.

⁴ "I have not yet spoken to you at all of the Sun of spiritual exercises, the most holy, sacred, and all-sovereign Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Mass, the centre of the Christian Religion, the heart of devotion, the seal of piety, an ineffable mystery which includes within itself the abyss of divine charity, and by which God, by applying Himself really to us, communicates to us of His greatness, His graces, and His favour" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 14, p. 127).

⁵ Distrust of self, trust in God, practice, and prayer.

⁶ This is closely in agreement with the *Catechism of Trent*: "At quia corpori sanguis, anima et divinitas con-

jungitur, hæc quoque in sacramento erunt omnia, non quidem ex consecrationis virtute, sed ut ea, quæ corpori conjuncta sunt. Atque hæc ex concomitantia in sacramento esse dicuntur; qua ratione totum Christum in sacramento esse perspicuum est" (*Cat. Rom.* Pars ii. cap. iv. 34.). The same is somewhat differently expressed in St. Thomas: "Sciendum tamen quod aliquid Christi est in hoc sacramento dupliciter. Uno modo quasi ex vi sacramenti, alio modo ex naturali concomitantia. Ex vi quidem sacramenti est sub speciebus hujus sacramenti, id in quod directe convertitur substantia panis et vini præexistens: prout significatur per verba formæ, quæ sunt effectiva in hoc sacramento: sicut et in cæteris, puta cum dicitur, hoc est corpus meum, vel, hic est sanguis meus. Ex naturali autem concomitantia est in hoc sacramento illud quod realiter est conjunctum ei, in quod prædicta conversio terminatur. . . . Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod quia conversio panis et vini non terminatur ad divinitatem vel animam Christi, consequens est quod divinitas vel anima Christi non sit in hoc sacramento ex vi sacramenti sed ex reali concomitantia" (*S. Thom. Summa*. P. iii. Q. lxxvi. A. i.). The truth is defined in the ancient Christmas collect now incorporated with the *Ordo Missæ*: "Deus qui humanæ substancialiæ dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti da quæsumus nobis (Jesu Christi Filii tui) ejus Divinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostræ fieri dignatus est particeps per" (*Sacram. Leonianum*. Feltoe, p. 159). It forms the basis of the prayer at the mixing of the Chalice in the Missal. The English Prayer-Book says: "For then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us." It is by virtue of this unity of Christ that in the Blessed Sacrament we are partakers of the soul and divinity of our Lord. *Cp.* 2 Pet. i. 4: "That ye might be partakers of the divine nature." "For seeing it is the very body of our Saviour Christ, which is united and knit to His godhead in one person, and by reason thereof hath the very virtue and substance of life in it, it must needs consequently, by the most holy and blessed participation of the same, give and communicate life also to them that worthily receive it" (*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition*, &c. The King's Book of 1543. *Cp. Formul. of Faith*, Oxford, p. 267).

With the former we fight against our enemies by the virtue of Christ: with these we fight against them together with Christ, and Christ fights against them together with us; because he who eats the flesh of Christ and drinks His blood, dwells with Christ, and Christ with him.¹

And because this most Holy Sacrament and this weapon can be practised and taken in two ways, sacramentally once a day, and spiritually every hour and every moment, you ought not to neglect to take it very frequently in the second way, and always in the first way when it is allowed to you.²

CHAP. LIV

THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT (*continued*)*Of the method of receiving the most Holy Sacrament
of the Eucharist*

FOR³ divers ends we are able to draw near to this most divine Sacrament, to⁴ attain which we must do different things, to be divided between three periods of time: before the Communion, when we are about to communicate, and after the Communion.

¹ Cp. above quotation from English Prayer-Book.

² This chapter is an introduction to the following chapters on the Holy Communion. There is nothing corresponding to it in Castaniza, where the chapters on this subject (xxix.-xxx.) follow upon the chapter on "Sensible Devotion and Dryness." This chapter belongs, therefore, to what may be called the last revision.

³ The text of chapter xxix. of 1652.

⁴ This division is wanting in Castaniza in this place.

Before the Communion, for whatever end indeed it is received, it is needful that we wash and cleanse ourselves by the Sacrament of Penitence from the stain of sin,¹ if it be there; and that with the affection of the whole heart we should give ourselves wholly, with our whole soul, with all our strength, and with all our might to Jesus Christ, and to what is pleasing to Him, because He gives to us in this most Holy Sacrament His blood and His flesh, with His soul, with His divinity,² and with His merits; and considering that our gift is little or next to nothing compared to His, we ought to desire to have whatever all His creatures, both human and heavenly, have offered and given to Him, that we may give it to His divine Majesty.

And³ therefore if you wish to receive, to the end that your enemies and His may be conquered and destroyed in you, before⁴ you communicate, begin in the evening, or as early as you can, to consider the desire which the Son of God has that you should give Him room in your heart to unite Himself with you by this most Holy Sacrament, and to help you to drive out every vicious passion you have.

This desire is so sublime and immense in our Lord that it cannot be comprehended by the created intellect.

That you may make yourself in some degree capable of it, you will firmly imprint upon your mind two things:

One is the ineffable pleasure of God, Who is above

¹ The counsel given in this paragraph is wanting in Castaniza. He goes directly to the concluding sentence of the next paragraph.

² Cf. note on previous chapter.

³ This is wanting in Castaniza.

⁴ The text of 1652.

measure good, to dwell with us: since He calls this “His delights.”¹

The other is to remember that He hates sin above measure, both as a hindrance and obstacle to the union with us which is so much desired by Him, and as altogether contrary to His divine perfections; for since He is the highest good, pure light, and infinite beauty, He cannot but infinitely hate and abominate sin, which is nothing else than the darkness, defect, and intolerable stain of our souls.

And this hatred of the Lord against sin is so intense, that for its destruction all the works of the Old and New Testament have been ordained, and particularly those of the most sacred Passion of His Son, Who, as enlightened servants of God say,² to annul in us our very least fault, would if there were need expose Himself anew to death a thousand times over.

And when from these considerations you come to understand, though very imperfectly, the greatness of the desire which the Lord had to enter your heart, that³ He might drive out of it and altogether overthrow your enemies and His, you will stir up in yourself a living desire to receive Him for this purpose.⁴

So,⁵ in all manfulness, and the soul seized with the hope of the coming of your heavenly Captain, again and again challenge⁶ to battle the passion you have undertaken to conquer, and repress it with repeated resolutions

¹ Prov. viii. 31: “My delights were with the sons of men.” This is quoted in the *Roman Catechism*, P. ii. c. iv. 32.

² This reference is wanting in Castaniza.

³ This is wanting in Castaniza.

⁴ There are added in Castaniza some ejaculatory prayers.

⁵ The opening words in this paragraph are wanting in Castaniza.

⁶ Cf. chapter xiii.

and expressions of hatred, cultivating acts of virtue contrary to it ; and so you will go on during the evening and the morning before the most Holy Communion.

When then you are about to receive the most Holy Sacrament, you will a little before give a short glance at your faults from your last Communion until now ; for these have been committed by you as if there had been no God, and as if He had not endured so much for you in the mysteries of the Cross, while you have taken more account of your low pleasure and of your virtues than of the will of God and His honour : and with shame of yourself and with a holy fear you will be confounded by your ingratitude and unworthiness.

But with the thought again that the boundless deep of the goodness of your Lord calls to the deep¹ of your own ingratitude and little faith, draw near to Him in confidence, giving Him a large place in your heart, that He may make Himself wholly master of it.

And² you will then give Him a large place when you drive away from your heart whatever creaturely affection there may be, and then closing it that none may enter there but your Lord Himself.

When you have communicated, withdraw yourself at once into the secret chambers of your heart ; and after you have adored Him, in all humility and reverence, you will in your mind speak thus with your Lord :

“Thou seest, my only good, how easily I offend Thee, and how much this passion is against me ; and that of myself I have no power to free myself. Therefore Thine principally is this combat ; and of Thee

¹ Ps. xlvi. (xli.) 7 : “Deep calleth unto deep.”

² This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

alone I hope for victory, though there is also need for me to fight."

Then, turning to the Eternal Father, offer to Him as a thanksgiving for His gifts and as a victory over yourself, His blessed Son Whom He has given to you, and Whom you already have within you; and manfully fighting against the above-named passion, await with faith the victory from God, Who will not fail you, if on your part you do what you can, although He may put it off for a while.¹

CHAP. LV

THE LOVE OF GOD

How we must prepare ourselves for the Communion that we may stir up love in ourselves

THAT² you may rouse yourself by this most heavenly Sacrament to the love of God, turn in thought to His love towards you, meditating the evening before: ³ how the great and almighty Lord, not content with having created you in His image and likeness,⁴ and with having sent on earth His only-begotten Son to suffer thirty-three years for your iniquities, and to endure the hardest trials and the painful death on the Cross to redeem you, wished moreover to leave

¹ This corresponds very closely, with the exceptions noted, to chapter xxix. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

² The text of chapter xxx. of 1652.

³ "Begin the evening before to prepare for the Holy Communion by aspirations and ejaculations of love" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 21, p. 157).

⁴ Gen. i. 26.

Him to you as your food and sustenance¹ in the most Holy Sacrament of the altar.²

Consider³ indeed, my daughter, the incomprehensible excellences of this love which render it in all its parts most perfect and singular.

First, If we look at the time, our God has loved us perpetually⁴ and without any beginning: and as He is eternal in His divinity, so also is the love eternal with which before all the worlds it was determined in His mind to give us His love in this marvellous manner.

And rejoicing at this in yourself with inward joy, you will be able to say: “In what an abyss then of eternity was my insignificance so much valued and loved by God on high that He thought of me and desired by purposes of ineffable love to give me His own Son Himself for food !”

Secondly, All other loves, however great they may be, have some limits, nor are they able to extend beyond them; but this love of our Lord alone is without measure.

And therefore since He wished to satisfy Himself fully He has given⁵ His own Son, Who is of majesty and infinity equal to Himself,⁶ of one and the same

¹ “Bisogno.”

² “Wherefore it is duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that He hath given His Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that Holy Sacrament” (English Communion Service).

³ This and some of the following meditations differ from those in Castaniza.

⁴ This forms the third of the meditations on love in the text of 1652.

⁵ This is the second head of meditation in the text of 1652.

⁶ “The Father of an infinite Majesty”: “Patrem immensæ majestatis” (“Te Deum”).

substance and nature.¹ And therefore the love is as great as the gift, and the gift as great as the love ; the one and the other so large that no greater largeness can be imagined by any intellect.²

Thirdly, God has not been drawn to love us by any necessity or force : but His own intrinsic natural goodness alone has moved Him to so great and incomprehensible an affection³ towards us.

Fourthly, No work or indeed merit of ours has been able to anticipate that the infinite Lord should show so great an excess of love at our misery ; but by His liberality alone has He given Himself altogether to us, His most unworthy creatures.

Fifthly,⁴ If you turn in thought to the purity⁵ of this love, you will see that it is not, like worldly loves, mixed with any self-interest ; because the Lord has no need of what is good in us, since He is without us in Himself alone most happy and most glorious ; and therefore His ineffable goodness and charity have been simply employed in us, not for His benefit but for ours.

¹ "And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity : the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" (Art. i. of the *Articles of Religion of 1562*).

² "For the love of God is broader
Than the measures of man's mind :
And the Heart of the Eternal
Is most wonderfully kind."

(F. W. Faber, *Hymns A. and M.*, 634.)

³ This thought occurs in different words in the text of 1652.

⁴ These recurrences of five heads of meditation should be compared with chapters lii., li., xlvi. In chapters xlvi. and li. they are absent from the edition of 1652. In chapter lii. they belong to the enlargement. The form, therefore, is probably that of the latest Italian revision.

⁵ This is the last point in this series of meditations in the text of 1652.

And if you weigh this well, you will say within yourself: "How is it that the Lord so high should set His heart on a creature so low? What willest Thou, O King of glory? What dost Thou await of me, who am none else but a little dust? I see clearly, my God, in the light of Thy burning charity, that Thou hast one only design, that the purity of Thy love towards me may be more clearly revealed to me; since not for anything else dost Thou give Thyself wholly to me as my food, except to convert me wholly to Thyself; not for the need which Thou hast of me, but that Thou living in me and I in Thee, I may be changed by a loving union into Thee, and from the vileness of my earthly heart may be made with Thee one divine heart alone."

And¹ therefore, full of amazement and joy, when you see yourself thus highly prized and loved by God, and when you know that He in His omnipotent love intends nothing else from you and desires nothing except to draw within Himself all your love, freeing yourself first of all from all creatures, and then also from yourself who are a mere creature in yourself, offer yourself wholly to your Lord as a burnt-offering, that from henceforth His love and divine pleasure alone may move your intellect, your will, and your memory, and rule all your senses.

And when you then see that nothing is able to produce in you such divine effects as to receive Him worthily in the most Holy Sacrament of the altar,² open your heart to Him for this purpose in the follow-

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² There is an addition here in the text of 1652, which has the appearance of being an expression of the same thought in other words. It forms the introduction to the prayers of the text.

ing ejaculatory prayers and aspirations of love: “O¹ more than heavenly food, when will the hour come that with no other fire but the fire of Thy love I may offer myself wholly to Thee? When, when, O un-created Love?

“O living bread, when shall I live solely of Thee, by Thee, and for Thee? When shall my life be a life beautiful, joyful, and eternal?

“O heavenly manna, when, wearied as I am with every other earthly food, shall I wish for Thee alone, shall I feed on Thee alone? When will it be, my sweetness; when, my only good? Alas! my loving and omnipotent Lord, deliver now this wretched soul of mine from every attachment and from every vicious passion; adorn it with Thy holy virtues and with that pure purpose of doing everything simply to be pleasing to Thee, that in this way I may open to Thee my heart, may invite Thee and use gentle force with Thee that Thou mayst enter there; and therefore that Thou, O Lord, without resistance mayst work then in me those effects that Thou hast always desired.”

And² in these affections of love you will be able to exercise yourself in the evening and in the morning as a preparation for the Communion. And³ then when the time of Communion draws near, think what you are about to receive.

The⁴ Son of God, of incomprehensible majesty, before whom tremble the heavens and all the powers.

The Holy of Holies, the mirror without spot, and purity incomprehensible, in comparison with Whom there is no creature who is clean.

¹ The text of 1652, with many additions.

² The text of 1652.

³ The enlargement of 1652.

⁴ These meditations are different from those in Castaniza.

He Who as a worm and the outcast of the people¹ wished for love of you to be rejected,² trampled upon, mocked, spit upon, and crucified by the malice and wickedness of the world.

You³ are (I say) about to receive God, in whose hands is the life and death of all the world.

That you, on the contrary, since of yourself you are nothing, and by your sin and wickedness have become inferior to whatever vilest and unclean irrational creature there may be, are worthy of being confounded and mocked by all the devils of hell.

And that instead of gratitude for such immense and innumerable benefits, you have by your caprices and desires despised so great, so high, and so loving a Lord and trodden under foot His precious blood.

That with all this, in His perpetual charity and unchangeable goodness He calls you to His divine table, and sometimes constrains you to go there by threats of death. Nor does He shut against you the door of His pity, nor even turn His back upon you, although you are by nature leprous, lame, dropsical, blind, possessed with devils, and have given yourself over to many fornications.

This only He asks of you: first, that you should be sorry you have offended Him; secondly, that above all else you should hate sin, both great and small; thirdly, that you should offer and give yourself by your will always, and on occasion by your deeds, to His

¹ Ps. xxii. (xxi.): "But as for me, I am a worm, and no man, a very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people": "Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis."

² Isa. liii. 3: "Despised and rejected of men": "Despectum et novissimum virorum."

³ The enlargement of 1652 is parallel in this phrase only.

will and obedience; fourthly, that you should also indeed hope for and have a firm faith that He will pardon you, and that He will make you clean, and will guard you from all your enemies.

Comforted by this ineffable love of the Lord, you will draw near to communicate with a holy and a loving fear, saying: "Lord, I am not worthy¹ to receive Thee, because I have grievously offended so many, many times, nor have I even grieved as I ought that I have offended Thee."

"Lord, I am not worthy² to receive Thee, because I am not indeed clean from the desires of venial sins.

"Lord, I am not worthy to receive Thee, because I have not even given myself sincerely to Thy love, to Thy will, and to Thine obedience. Yet, O my Lord, Who art almighty and infinitely good, by virtue of Thy goodness and Thy word, make me worthy, O my Love, to receive Thee in this faith."

And³ when you have communicated⁴ shut yourself in at once within the secret recesses of your heart,⁵ and forgetful of every created thing whatever, hold converse with your Lord in this or in some similar way:

"O King of heaven, Who art most high, what has led Thee within me, who am wretched, poor,

¹ St. Matt. viii. 8: "Domine non sum dignus."

² There is in Castaniza, under the enlargement of the edition of 1652, a different meditation on the "Domine non sum dignus."

³ The text of 1652.

⁴ St. Francis de Sales says: "When you have received Him, stir up your heart to do homage to this King of salvation, speak with Him of your inner life, think of Him as within you, where He has been placed for your happiness" (*The Devout Life*, ii. 21, p. 158).

⁵ Cf. chapter liv.

blind, and naked?" And He will answer you: "Love."¹

And you in reply will say: "O uncreated Love, O blessed² Love, what dost Thou wish of me?"

"Nothing else," He will say to you, "but Love; nor do I wish that other fire should burn on the altar of your heart and in your sacrifices and in all your works than the fire of my love, that consuming all other love and all your self-will, it may give me the sweetest fervour."

"This I have asked for and ask for always, because I desire to be wholly yours, and that you should be wholly mine. And this can never be as long as you do not make that resignation of yourself which so much delights me, and remain attached to the love of yourself, to your own opinion, and to every wish and fancy of your own.

"I ask of you the hatred of yourself that I may give you my love; your heart, that it may be one with mine which for this end was opened on the Cross; and³ I claim you wholly, that I may be wholly yours. You see that I am of incomparable value, and equally by my goodness I am worth as much as you. Buy⁴ me then at once, O soul beloved of me, by giving yourself to me.

"I will, my dearest⁵ daughter, that you should will nothing of yourself, that you should think nothing, understand nothing, see nothing apart from me and

¹ There is an addition in Castaniza in this reply.

² "Dolce."

³ The last words of this paragraph are wanting in the text of 1652.

⁴ Isa. lv. 1: "Come ye, buy and eat; come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

⁵ "Dolce."

from my will ; that in you I may wholly will, think, understand, and see ; so that your nothingness being absorbed in the abyss of my infinity may be changed into it : thus will you be fully happy and blessed in me, and I wholly content in you.”

Finally you will offer to the Father His own Son, first for a thanksgiving, then for your own needs, for the needs of all the Holy Church, of all your own friends, of those to whom you are indebted, and for the souls in Purgatory ; and this offering you will make in memory and in union with that which He made of Himself, when wholly bleeding, hanging on the Cross, He offered Himself to the Father.

And in this way you will be able also to offer to Him all the sacrifices which that day are offered in the Holy Roman Church.¹

CHAP. LVI

SPIRITUAL COMMUNION

Of Spiritual Communion

ALTHOUGH² we cannot sacramentally receive the Lord more than once a day, yet spiritually we can receive Him (as I have said³) every hour and every moment, and this by means of every created thing ; unless by our sloth or some other fault of ours it is taken away from us.

¹ This chapter follows to some extent the outline of chapter xxx. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza, but differs largely in the details of the meditations.

² The text of chapter xxxi. of 1652.

³ Chapter liii., at end.

And this Communion will be sometimes more fruitful and dear to God than perchance many other sacramental Communions, through the fault of those who receive them.

As often then as you dispose yourself and prepare yourself for such Communion, you will find the Son of God ready to feed you spiritually with Himself with His own hands.

To get yourself ready for this, turn to Him in thought with this end in view: and with a brief glance at your own fault be sorry that you have offended Him, and with all humility and faith pray Him that He will deign to come into your poor soul with new grace to heal it and strengthen it against your enemies.¹

Indeed, when you are about to do violence to yourself, or to mortify yourself in some one or other of your desires, or to do some act of virtue, do all with the purpose of preparing your heart for the Lord Who is ever demanding it of you. And turning then to Him, call upon Him with the desire that He should come by His grace to heal you and deliver you from your enemies, that He alone may possess your heart.

Or, indeed, recalling your last sacramental Communion, say with a fervent heart: "When shall I receive Thee, my Lord, again? When? when?"²

And if³ you wish to prepare and communicate spiritually in a more usual manner, the evening before direct all your mortification, your acts of virtue, and every other good work towards the purpose of receiving your Lord spiritually.

And early in the morning, as you consider what good and what happiness there is in the soul that

¹ This last phrase is somewhat different in Castaniza.

² There is an additional ejaculation in Castaniza.

³ The enlargement of 1652.

worthily receives the most Holy Sacrament of the altar (since, in virtues which once lost are regained, the soul returns to its original beauty, and the fruits and merits of the Son of God Himself are communicated to it), and how pleasing it is to God that we should receive Him and have these benefits, be eager to kindle in your heart a strong desire to receive Him that you may do Him pleasure.

And when you are inflamed with this desire, turn to Him, saying to Him : “ Since it is not permitted to me, O Lord, that I should receive Thee this day sacramentally, pardon my every fault and heal me, grant, O goodness and power uncreate, that I may receive Thee spiritually every hour and every moment, give me new grace and strength against all my enemies, and particularly against that enemy with which I am making war to please Thee.”¹

CHAP. LVII

THANKSGIVING

Of the giving of thanks

BECAUSE² all the good which we have and do is of God and from God, we are debtors to give Him thanks for every good practice and victory of ours, and for all the benefits we have received from His merciful hand, both particular and common.

And to do this aright we must consider the end which the Lord has before Him in communicating His

¹ This corresponds almost exactly with chapter xxxi. of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

² The text of chapter xxxii. of 1652.

gifts to us; for from this consideration and knowledge we are able to learn how God wishes to be thanked.

And because in every benefit the Lord chiefly looks to His own honour and means to draw us to His love and service, first of all consider with yourself in this way: "With what power, wisdom, and goodness¹ has my God granted me and conferred upon me this benefit and grace!"

Then seeing that there is nothing in you (or from you) worthy of any benefit, indeed that there is nothing but unworthiness and ingratitude, you will say to the Lord with profound humility: "And² how is it, Lord, that Thou dost deign to look at a dead dog,³ when Thou conferrest such benefits upon me? Blessed be Thy Name for ever and ever!"

And⁴ lastly, seeing that He seeks from you that you should love Him and serve Him with the benefit, inflame yourself with love towards so loving a Lord and with a sincere desire to serve Him in this manner.

And to this end you will add a full offering, which you will do in the following way.⁵

¹ "There is but one living and true God . . . of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness" (Art. i. of the *Articles of Religion of 1562*).

² This is wanting in Castaniza.

³ 2 Sam. (2 Kings) ix. 8.

⁴ The text of 1652.

⁵ This chapter agrees almost wholly with chapter xxxii. of Castaniza.

CHAP. LVIII

THE OFFERING

Of the offering

THAT¹ the offering of yourself may be acceptable to God in all its parts, it has need of two things. One is union with the offerings which Christ made to the Father; the other that your will should be detached from every kind of creaturely attachment.

For the first, you must know that the Son of God, when He lived in this vale of tears,² not only offered to His heavenly Father Himself and His works, but offered us also with Himself, and our works. So that our offerings must be made in union with and trust in His. And³ as to the second matter consider well, before you offer yourself, if your will has any attachment;⁴ for if it has, it must first of all be detached from every affection: and for this purpose have recourse to God, that when He detaches you by His right hand you may be able to offer yourself to His divine Majesty, loosed and free from every other thing.

And take great care in this matter, for if you offer yourself to God when you have any creaturely attachment, you do not offer what is yours but what belongs to others; since you are not your own but another's, to whom your will is attached: which is as displeasing to the Lord as if you wished to play a trick on Him.

¹ This paragraph is wanting in the parallel chapter xxxiii. in Castaniza.

² Ps. lxxxiv. (lxxxiii.) 6: "Vale of misery": "In valle lacrymarum."

³ This and the following paragraphs are wanting in Castaniza.

⁴ There is nothing here about detachment in Castaniza.

And it comes of this that the many offerings which we make of ourselves to God not only return to us empty and without fruit, but that we fall afterwards into various faults and sins.

We can offer ourselves to God even though we have creaturely attachments, but for this reason, that His goodness may detach us that we may then be able to give ourselves wholly to His divine Majesty and to His service; and this we ought to do frequently and with great resolution.

Let¹ your offering then be without attachment and without any quality of self-will, not looking either at earthly or at heavenly benefits, but simply to the will and providence of God, to whom you must submit yourself wholly and offer yourself for a continual burnt-offering,² and forgetful of every created thing, say: "Behold, my Lord and my Creator, everything and every wish of mine is in the hand of Thy will and Thine eternal providence; do with me that which seems good to Thee and is pleasing to Thee in life, and in death, and after death, in time as in eternity."

If you act sincerely in this way (of which you will be aware when troubles fall upon you) you will from an earthly trader become a trader of the Gospel,³ and most happy because you will be God's and God will be yours; since He is always theirs who, separating themselves from created things and from themselves, give themselves wholly and sacrifice themselves to His divine Majesty.

¹ The enlargement of 1652.

² Num. xxviii. 3: "In holocaustum sempiternum."

³ There is probably a reference to the apocryphal saying of our Lord, "Estote probati nummularii," quoted by St. Jerome in one of his letters (S. Hier. Ep. ad Minerviam et Alexandrum, T. iv. p. i. 220). It is used by St. Francis de Sales in a chapter on "Friendship" (*The Devout Life*, iii. 22, p. 265).

Now¹ you see here, my daughter, a most powerful means of conquering all your enemies: for if the said offering so unites you to God that you become wholly His, and He wholly yours, what enemy and what power will ever be able to hurt you?

And² when you wish to offer to Him any work of yours, such as fasting, prayers, acts of patience, and other good actions, turn your mind first to the offering which Christ made of His own fasting, prayers, and other works to the Father; and then, trusting in the worth and the virtue of these, offer your own.

For if you wish to make an offering of the works of Christ to the heavenly Father for your faults, you will make it in this way.

You will give a general and sometimes a distinct glance at your sins; and seeing clearly that it is not possible that you can appease the wrath of God of yourself, or satisfy His divine justice, you will have recourse to the Life and Passion of His Son, thinking over each of His works, as, for example, when He fasted, prayed, endured, or shed His blood; when you will see that to appease the Father on your behalf, and what is due to your iniquity, He offered to Him His works, His sufferings, and His blood, as if He said: "Behold, Eternal Father, according to Thy will I am giving satisfaction more than is sufficient to Thy justice, for the sins and debts of N. . . . May it please Thy divine Majesty to pardon her and to receive her into the number of Thine elect."

And then at the same time offer this same offering and these prayers to the Father for yourself, asking Him in virtue of them to remit to you every debt.

¹ This paragraph is wanting in Castaniza.

² The text of 1652.

And this you will be able to do not only when you pass from one mystery to another, but also from one act of each mystery to the other ; and not only for yourself, but for others also you will be able to make use of this method of offering.¹

¹ This chapter agrees in part with chapter xxxiii. of Castaniza. There are some important differences. The opening paragraphs in Castaniza have no parallel in Scupoli ; and there is in Castaniza no reference to detachment, which is a prominent feature in the counsels of Scupoli.

Is it altogether an accident that this chapter xxxiii. is the last chapter in Castaniza which is parallel with the *Spiritual Combat* of Scupoli ? For the following chapter lix. in Scupoli agrees with chapter xxviii. of Castaniza. Chapter ix. in Scupoli, on the "Examination of the Conscience," forms but a very small part of chapter xxxix. of Castaniza.

The last chapters, lxi.-lxvi., in Scupoli have no parallel in Castaniza. Of these, chapters lxii.-lxvi. appeared for the first time in the second part of the Naples edition of 1599, under the title: "Modo di apparecchiarsi agli assalti del nemico nel tempo della morte." The first part of this Naples edition of 1599 is the enlarged edition of the "Combattimento Spirituale" of sixty-one chapters, prefaced by the Dedication: "Al Supremo Capitano e gloriosissimo Trionfatore Gesù Cristo Figluolo di Maria," signed by Scupoli himself. The first edition, printed at Venice in 1589, contained only twenty-four chapters. The second edition, also printed at Venice in 1589, had an additional nine chapters ; so that until the year 1599 the work consisted of thirty-three chapters. Do the first thirty-three chapters of Castaniza correspond in number with the original thirty-three chapters of Scupoli ? In other words, was not the original work of thirty-three chapters enlarged and redistributed by Scupoli in 1599, much in the same way as the *Devout Life* of St. Francis de Sales, originally published in three parts, was enlarged and redistributed by him in 1608 ?

It is in the Douay edition of 1612, the basis of the "text" of the edition of Castaniza in 1652, that the work is first attributed to Castaniza. This Latin edition of 1612 had been preceded by a "Versio Latina," published at Douay in 1606. This is said to have been translated from an English edition.

The English edition alluded to is probably that published at Douay in 1599, the same year as the definitive edition was published at Naples by Scupoli. It was probably, therefore, an edition in thirty-three chapters; for an English edition had appeared in London in 1598, which could only have contained the original division in thirty-three chapters.

It would seem, therefore, that the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza of 1652 is an enlarged edition of the original thirty-three chapters, the differences and the additional chapters in Castaniza on prayer, meditation, the Holy Communion, and daily examination being the work of a later editor, perhaps the Douay translator of 1612.

This suspicion is strengthened by the last chapters in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza. Ch. xxxiv. : "How to petition for Divine Grace," differs much in style and in its emphasis on perseverance and resignation from the previous chapters. Ch. xxxv. : "Some short observations concerning Meditation," is based on the principle of the systematic meditation of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, and differs widely from the outlines given in ch. xlvi.-lxxii. of Scupoli. Ch. xxxvi. : "An Exercise before the Sacred Communion," is an illustration of the "Ignatian" system of meditation. Ch. xxxvii. is the most important of all: "How we may devoutly offer up the Sacrifice of the Mass." There are counsels for the guidance of the Priest in saying Mass: "See that thy going forth of the vestry be with all decency and gravity." And when it is remembered that the counsels throughout are addressed, not as in Scupoli, "Figluola in Christo amatissima," but "O dearly beloved in Christ," it seems almost certain that this Douay edition of 1612 was an adaptation for the use of the priesthood. Ch. xxxix. : "A Daily Examination," is also far more systematic than ch. lx. of Scupoli: "Dell' esame della coscienza." The *Spiritual Conflict* in the edition of 1652 concludes with ch. xl. : "Being a Conclusion of the whole work," in which the concluding portions of the *Spiritual Combat* are incorporated, corresponding with ch. lxi. of the edition of 1750. Is there not good reason to regard the *Spiritual Combat* of Scupoli as the basis of the *Spiritual Conflict* attributed to Castaniza?

CHAP. LIX

SPIRITUAL DRYNESS

Of sensible devotion and of dryness

SENSIBLE¹ devotion is caused sometimes by nature, sometimes by the devil, and sometimes by grace ;² by its fruits you will be able to discern whence it proceeds : for if there does not follow from it any amendment of your life, you should have fears whether it may not be of the devil or of nature ; and the more so, the more it is accompanied by a greater enjoyment, sweetness, and attachment, and by some opinion of yourself.

And therefore, when you feel that your mind is being softened by spiritual enjoyments, do not stay to inquire from what quarter they come, neither lean upon them, nor allow yourself to be drawn away from the knowledge of your own nothingness :³ but with a greater diligence and hatred of yourself, endeavour to keep your heart free from any attachment whatever, even though it be a spiritual one ; and fix

¹ The text of chapter xxviii. of 1652.

² "But you will say to me, since there are tender consolations which are good and come from God, and some also which are useless, dangerous, indeed pernicious, which come either from nature or even from the enemy, how shall I be able to discern one from the other, and to know the bad or the useless among the good ? It is a general doctrine, dearest Philothea, with regard to the affections and passions of our souls, that we ought to know them by their fruits" (St. Francis de Sales, *The Devout Life*, iv. 13, p. 388).

³ "Humble yourself deeply before God in the knowledge of your nothingness and misery" (*ibid.* iv. 14, 395).

your desire on God alone and His good pleasure : for in this way, whether the enjoyment is from nature or from the devil, it will come to be from grace.

Dryness can proceed likewise from three causes.

From the devil, by making the mind lukewarm and turning it from its spiritual enterprise to the amusements and delights of the world.

From ourselves, by our own faults, the attachment to earthly things, and sloth.

From grace, either by giving us warning that we should be more diligent in giving up any attachment and occupation which is not of God, and which does not end in Him ; or that we may know by experience that all that is good in us comes from Him ;¹ or that² for the future we should set a greater value on His gifts and be more humble and cautious in preserving them ; or by uniting³ us more closely with His divine Majesty by the complete renunciation of ourselves, even in our spiritual delights, that we may not through our affection being attached to these delights divide the heart which the Lord wishes wholly for Himself ; or indeed⁴ that He may find pleasure for our good in seeing us fighting with all our strength and with the help of His grace.

Then,⁵ if you feel dry, enter into yourself that you may see through what fault of yours sensible devotion has been taken away from you, and take up arms against it, not to recover the tenderness of

¹ This may be compared with the counsels and thoughts of St. Francis de Sales in his chapters on "Spiritual Dryness" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 13-15).

² This differs from the parallel passage in Castaniza.

³ The text of 1652, with a slight difference.

⁴ This is wanting in the text of 1652.

⁵ The text of 1652.

grace, but to remove from yourself that which is displeasing to God.

And¹ if you do not find the fault, let your sensible devotion be your true devotion, which is prompt resignation to the will of God.

And² therefore take care that on no account you give up your spiritual practices: but follow them up with all your energy, however unfruitful and distasteful they may appear to you, drinking willingly the cup of bitterness,³ which in your dryness the loving will of God holds forth to you.

And if the dryness should be sometimes accompanied by so much darkness of mind, darkness so thick that you do not know either where to turn or which way to take, do not on that account be frightened, but rest solitary and stationary at the cross, far from all earthly delight, even though it should be offered to you by the world or by its creatures.

Hide your suffering from everyone, except your spiritual father, to whom you will discover it, not for relief from pain, but that you may learn the way to bear it according to the good pleasure of God.

Do not use your communions, prayers, and other practices that you may come down from the cross, but that you may receive strength to raise up the cross to the greater glory of the Crucified.

And if you are not able through confusion of mind to meditate and pray in your own way, meditate in the best way that you can.⁴

¹ This is wanting in 1652.

² The text of 1652.

³ St. Matt. xxvi. 39.

⁴ It is well sometimes to vary the method of meditation. It is good to practise from time to time the system of exact meditation, as set out in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius,

And that which you cannot carry out by the understanding, force yourself to carry out by will and soul,¹ talking with yourself and with the Lord; for from this you will see wonderful results, and in this way your heart will take courage and strength.

You will then in each case say:² "Quare tristis es, anima mea, et quare conturbas me?³ Spera in Deo, quoniam adhuc confitebor illi, salutare vultus mei, et Deus meus.⁴ Ut quid, Domine, recessisti longe? Despicis in opportunitate, in tribulatione.⁵ Non me derelinquas usquequaque."⁶

And remembering the sacred teaching which God gave in the time of trouble to His beloved Sara, the wife of Tobias, make use of it also yourself, saying aloud: "Hoc autem pro certo habet omnis qui te colit, quod vita ejus, si in probatione fuerit, coronabitur; si autem in tribulatione fuerit, liberabitur; et si in correptione fuerit, ad misericordiam tuam venire licebit. Non enim delectaris in perditionibus nostris: quia post tempestatem tranquillum facis, et post lacrimationem et fletum, exultationem infundis. Sit

the *Devout Life* of St. Francis de Sales, and other masters of spiritual theology. But this practice may be varied by the devotional reading of Holy Scripture, the use of devotional books, or such spiritual readings as those of Bruni, da Ponte, Sutton, or amongst modern writers, Father Benson.

¹ This counsel is wanting in Castaniza.

² This is different in Castaniza.

³ Ps. xliii. (xlii.) 5: "Why art thou so heavy, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me?"

⁴ Ps. xliii. (xlii.) 6: "O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks, which is the help of my countenance and my God."

⁵ Ps. x. (ix.) 1: "Why standest thou so far off, O Lord, and hidest thy face in the needful time of trouble?"

⁶ Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 8: "O forsake me not utterly."

nomen tuum, Deus Israel, benedictum in sæcula”
(Tob. iii.).¹

You² will remind yourself also of your Christ, that in the garden and on the Cross, in His great agony, He was forsaken by His heavenly Father as regards the senses;³ and bearing your cross with Him, you will say with all your heart: “Fiat voluntas tua.”⁴

For⁵ if you do this, your patience and your prayer will lift up the flames of your heart’s sacrifice to the presence of God, while you will remain really devout. Since (as I have said⁶) true devotion is an eager promptness of will and is steadfast in following Christ with the Cross on the shoulder, by any way He invites us and calls us, both to wish for God for God’s sake, and sometimes to give up God for God’s sake.⁷

¹ This is not in the authorised version of the Book of Tobit. The Vulgate differs here from the Greek. The passage corresponds in the Vulgate with Tob. iii. 21-23. The rendering in the Douay Version reads: “For this everyone is sure of that worshippeth thee, that his life, if it be under trial, shall be crowned: and if it be under tribulation, it shall be delivered: and if it be under correction, it shall be allowed to come to thy mercy. For thou art not delighted in our being lost: because after a storm thou makest a calm, and after tears and weeping thou pourest in joyfulness. Be thy name, O God of Israel, blessed for ever.”

² The enlargement of 1652.

³ St. Matt. xxvii. 46.

⁴ St. Matt. vi. 10: “Thy will be done.” In Castaniza St. Luke xxii. 42 is quoted.

⁵ The text of 1652.

⁶ Earlier in this same chapter.

⁷ St. Francis de Sales describes “True Devotion” in the opening chapter of the *Devout Life*. He emphasises this promptness: “As it pertains to charity to make us practise all the commandments of God, generally and universally, so it pertains to devotion to make us do it promptly and diligently” (*The Devout Life*, i. 1, p. 21).

And if by this and not by sensible devotion the many who give themselves to spiritual things, and especially women, would measure their progress, they would not be deceived by themselves or by the devil, nor would they grieve uselessly, even ungratefully, about the great good which the Lord has done, but would devote themselves with greater fervour to serve His divine Majesty, Who disposes all things and permits their use to His glory and our good.

And in this also women deceive themselves: with fear and prudence they guard themselves from the occasions of sin, but when they are molested by horrible, filthy, and terrifying thoughts, and sometimes also by most filthy visions, they become confused and lose courage, and persuade themselves that they are forsaken and altogether afar off from God, not being able to think that His divine Spirit can dwell in a mind full of such thoughts.¹

Thus being much cast down, they almost give way to despair, and giving up all their good practices,² return to Egypt.³

Nor do they understand aright the favour the Lord shows to them, for He allows them to be assaulted by these spirits of temptation to bring them to a knowledge

¹ "Finally, Philothea, amid all our dryness and barrenness, let us not lose courage" (*The Devout Life*, iv. 14, p. 39). St. Francis de Sales recalls in one place the struggle of St. Catherine of Sienna: "Where wast Thou, my dearest Lord, when my heart was full of darkness and filth?" And to this He replied: "I was within thy heart, my daughter" (*Vita Raymundi Confessoris*, pt. i. ch. vii. Cp. *The Devout Life*, iv. 4, p. 362).

² Castaniza reads: "They presently run to their wonted prayers to recover their quiet." Scupoli does not scruple to express the intensity of their fall.

³ Isa. xxx. 2.

of themselves, and that being in need of help they may draw near to Him. And therefore they ungratefully complain of that for which they ought to acknowledge their obligation to His infinite goodness.

That which you must do in such a case as this is to dive into the consideration of your perverse inclination, since God for your good wishes you to see that it is ready for any evil, however serious; and that without His help you might plunge into the deepest ruin.

And by this have hope and trust that He is about to help you, since He makes you see the danger and wishes to draw you as near as possible to Himself by prayer and by supplication to Him; and for this you ought to render to Him your most humble thanks.

And hold it as certain that similar spirits of temptation and filthy thoughts are better driven away by a patient endurance of suffering and by a timely turning of the back, than by too much anxious resistance.¹

CHAP. LX

EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE

Of the examination of the conscience

FOR² the examination of the conscience consider three things: the faults of the day, their cause, and the courage and the promptness with which you have to make war upon them and acquire the virtues opposite to them.

As to the faults, you will do what I have said in

¹ This corresponds with chapter xxviii. in Castaniza.

² The enlargement of chapter xxxix. of 1652.

the chapter on "What we should do when we are wounded."¹

The cause of these you must endeavour to overcome and lay in the dust.

The will to do this and to acquire virtues you will fortify with distrust of yourself, with trust in God, with prayer, and with a multitude of acts which are averse to vice and are desirous of the contrary virtue.

Let the victories you have gained and the works you have done be held by you in suspicion.

Further, I would not counsel you to think much of them, because of the almost inevitable danger at least of some hidden motive of vainglory and pride.

And therefore leaving them all behind to the mercy of God, of whatever kind they may be, direct your thought as much as possible to what remains for you to do.

As to what concerns then the giving of thanks for the gifts and favours which the Lord has bestowed on you in the course of the day, recognise Him as the doer of all that is good, and thank Him that He has delivered you from so many open enemies, and still more from so many hidden ones, that He has given you good thoughts and opportunities of virtues, and many another benefit which you do not know of.²

¹ Chapter xxvi.

² This in a very abbreviated form appears as the enlargement of chapter xxxix. in the *Spiritual Conflict*. This chapter in Scupoli formed the concluding chapter in the editions previous to 1599 and the publication of the last chapters on the "Spiritual Combat in the Hour of Death." It has been already suggested that until the publication of the revised and enlarged edition of 1599 the so-called text of the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza represented the earlier division into thirty-three chapters. The thirty-three chapters in the edition of 1652 are as follows:—

- i. Christian Perfection (Scupoli, i.).
- ii. Distrust of Self (Sc. ii.).
- iii. Trust in God (Sc. iii.).
- iv. The Understanding (Sc. vii.-ix.).
- v. The Will (Sc. x.).
- vi. The Two Wills (Sc. xii.).
- vii. Sensuality (Sc. xiii.).
- viii. The Conflict of the Wills (Sc. xiv.).
- ix. One Continual Conflict (Sc. xv.).
- x. Sudden Temptation (Sc. xviii.).
- xi. The Flesh (Sc. xix.).
- xii. Sloth (Sc. xx.).
- xiii. Discipline (Sc. xxiii.).
- xiv. The Order of Battle (Sc. xvii.).
- xv. Patience (Sc. xxvi.).
- xvi. Quietness (Sc. xxv.).
- xvii. The Devil (Sc. xxix.).
- xviii. The Devil (Sc. xxxi., xli.).
- xix. The Virtues (Sc. xxxii.).
- xx. Perseverance (*cp.* Sc. xv.).
- xxi. Prayer (Sc. xliv.).
- xxii. Mental Prayer (Sc. xlvi.).
- xxiii. Meditation (Sc. xlvi.).
- xxiv. Meditation (Sc. xlvi.).
- xxv. The Blessed Virgin (Sc. xlvi.).
- xxvi. The Angels and Saints (Sc. l.).
- xxvii. The Passion (Sc. li.).
- xxviii. Spiritual Dryness (Sc. lix.).
- xxix. The Blessed Sacrament (Sc. liv.).
- xxx. The Love of God (Sc. lv.).
- xxxi. Spiritual Communion (Sc. lvi.).
- xxxii. Thanksgiving (Sc. lvii.).
- xxxiii. Offering (Sc. lviii., lxi.).

The remaining chapters in the edition of 1652, referred to in a previous note (ch. lviii.), have been shown to be of a different style and character to the earlier chapters.

In the absence of the earliest editions, it may be inferred from this analysis of the thirty-three chapters of the so-called "text" of 1652, that the first edition of 1589 in twenty-four chapters corresponded with the outline given in chapter i., and confined itself to the treatment of the four subjects, distrust of self, trust in God, practice, and prayer. The additional nine chapters in the second edition of 1589

CHAP. LXI

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH

That in this struggle there is need to continue fighting even unto death

A MONG¹ other things which are found in this combat, one is perseverance, with which we ought to take care always to mortify our passions, which never die in this life, rather indeed as rank weeds go on growing every hour.

And this is the struggle which cannot be avoided by us, since it does not end except with life ; and he who does not fight is necessarily either captured or killed.

Besides this, we have to do with enemies who bear us continual hatred ; and therefore we can never hope for either peace or a truce, since they kill those men cruelly who try to be friendly with them.

You must therefore never be afraid of their power and their number, for in this struggle none will be a loser unless he wills it. And all the force of our enemies is in the hands of the Captain in whose honour we are to fight.

He not only will not allow you to be overcome, but will also take up arms on your behalf ; and

contained three examples of meditation (ch. xxv.-xxviii.), counsels on sensible devotion and dryness (ch. xxviii.), meditations on the fifth weapon in the spiritual conflict, the Blessed Sacrament (ch. xxix.-xxx.), and concluding counsels on thanksgiving and self-sacrifice (ch. xxxii.-xxxiii.). This subject is further discussed in Appendix i.

¹ This is the concluding chapter in Castaniza.

as He is more powerful than all your adversaries, He will give the victory into your hands, if you, indeed, while fighting bravely with Him, will trust not in yourself but in His power and goodness.

And if the Lord does not grant you the victory just at once, do not lose courage, for you must be very certain (and this will help you also to fight confidently) that He will turn to your benefit and advantage all those things which are against you, and those which appear to you to be furthest from, indeed contrary to your victory (of whatever kind they may be), if you only hold yourself as a faithful and manful combatant.

You then, my daughter, following your heavenly Captain, Who has conquered the world for you, and given Himself to death, give your attention to this struggle and to the total destruction of all your enemies with a bold heart; for if only one of them should remain alive, he will be as a thorn in your eyes and a lance in your side, for he will hinder the course of so glorious a victory.¹

CHAP. LXII

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH (*continued*)

*Of the manner of preparing ourselves against the enemies
who assault us at the time of death*

THOUGH² all our life is a continual warfare on earth, yet the chief and the most glorious day of

¹ This was the closing paragraph in the Shorter Recension of 1589, p. 292.

² This and the following chapters contain the "Counsels on Holy Dying." They supplement the teaching on 2 Tim. ii. 4: "Yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully," with that of Rev. ii. 10: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

battle is the last hour of the great journey ; for whoever falls at that moment never rises more.

That which you ought to do to find yourself well prepared at that time, is that during the time which is granted you now you should fight bravely, since he who fights well in life will, by the good habit he has acquired, easily obtain victory in the moment of death.

Further than this, frequently think with close consideration of death, that when it comes on you may fear it less and the mind will be free and ready for the struggle. Worldly men avoid this thought that they may not intercept their pleasure in the things of earth, to which being willingly attached by love, they would feel pain if they thought that they must leave them. So their disordered affection does not lessen, but rather indeed goes on gaining force ; and therefore to separate themselves from this life and from things so earthly is to them an inestimable grief, and all the greater at times to those who have enjoyed it longest.

That you may make this preparation the better, you will also imagine sometimes that you are alone, without any help, placed amid the narrow straits of death, and you will bring the following things to your mind that they may be able to work at that time ; and here too you may think over the remedies I would bring to you, that you may be the better able to use them in that last agony ; for the blow which must be struck but once only has need to be well learnt beforehand, that we should not make a mistake when there is no place to correct it.¹

¹ In the edition of 1652 this and the following chapters form the second and following subsections of chapter xix., "How the enemy endeavours to make our virtue instrumental to our ruin."

CHAP. LXIII.

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH (*continued*)

*Of the four assaults of our enemies in the time of death ;
and first, of the assault against the Faith, and of
the method of defence*

THE¹ principal and most dangerous assaults with which our enemies are accustomed to oppose us in the time of death are four. These are the trial of our Faith, despair, vainglory, and the various illusions of the devil and his angels and their transformation into angels of light.

As to the first assault, if the enemy begins to tempt you with his false arguments, draw back at once from your understanding to your will, saying : “Get thee behind me, Satan,² father of lies, for I do not wish even to hear thee, since it is enough for me to believe what the Holy Roman Church believes.”

And do not give place more than you are able to thoughts about the Faith, however friendly they may appear to you, regarding them as devices of the devil to pick a quarrel with you.

And if you are not able at the time to draw back the mind enough, stand firm and steadfast, so that you may not yield to any reason or authority of the Scriptures which the adversary may allege, for all of them will be cut down, whether they are badly alleged or badly explained, although they may appear to you to be good, clear, and evident.

And if the cunning serpent should ask you what the

¹ The enlargement of chapter xix. 3 of 1652.

² St. Matt. iv. 10.

Roman Church believes, do not reply to him, but seeing his deceit and that he only wishes to catch you in your words, make an inward act of more lively faith ; or indeed, to make him mad with indignation, tell him that the holy Roman Church believes the truth ; and if he should ask you in his malice what this truth is, you may reply : " Precisely that which it believes."

Above all else keep your heart always intent on the Crucified, saying : " My God, my Creator and Saviour, help me at once, and do not depart from me that I may not depart from the truth of Thy holy Catholic Faith ; and may it please Thee that as I was born in it by Thy grace, so to Thy glory I may end my mortal life in it." ¹

CHAP. LXIV

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH (*continued*)

Of the assault of despair and its cure

THE ² second assault with which the devil in his perversity strives wholly to overcome us is the fear with which he fills us at the memory of our faults, that he may make us cast ourselves down into the ditch of despair.

In this danger rest on this sure rule, that the thoughts of your sins arise from grace and are for your salvation when they have the effect in you of humility, of grief at having offended God, and trust in His goodness. But when they make you restless and fill you with distrust and cowardice, although they may

¹ This is reproduced in 1652 in chapter xix.

² The enlargement of chapter xix. 4 of 1652.

appear to you to be thoughts of things that are good, and sufficient to lead you to think that you are damned and that there is no further time of salvation for you, recognise them at once as the effects of the deceiver ; humble yourself more and trust more in God, for in this way you will conquer the enemy with his own weapons and will give the glory to God.

Grieve that you have offended God every time that it comes to your memory ; but yet ask Him for pardon with trust in His passion.

Moreover I would say to you that if it seemed to you that God was saying that you are not of His sheep, yet you ought not on any account at all to let go your trust in Him, but humbly say : “ Thou hast good reason, my Lord, to reprove me for my sins ; but I have a greater reason in Thy pity that Thou shouldst pardon me.

“ And therefore I ask of Thee the salvation of this Thy miserable creature, damned indeed by his own malice, but redeemed at the price of Thy blood. I wish to be saved for Thy glory, my Redeemer, and with confidence in Thy immense mercy I leave myself wholly in Thy hands. Do with me as Thou pleasest, for Thou alone art my Lord ; for if indeed Thou shouldst kill me, yet I would wish to keep alive my hopes in Thee.”¹

¹ This also is identical with the subsection of chapter xix. in the edition of 1652.

CHAP. LXV

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH (*continued*)*Of the assault of vainglory*

THE¹ third assault is that of vainglory and presumption. In this matter do not allow yourself to be led by this in any way imaginable, even to the very least satisfaction in yourself or your works. But let your pleasure be simply in the Lord, in His pity, and in the works of His life and Passion.

Abuse yourself more and more in your own eyes, even to your last breath, and if any good which has been done by you present itself to you, recognise God alone as the author of it. Have recourse to His aid, but do not await it for your own merit for the many great struggles in which you have been the victor. Rest always in a holy fear, confessing sincerely that all your resolutions would be vain if your God, in whose protection alone you trust, were not to gather you under the shadow of His wings.

If² you follow these counsels, your enemies will not be able to prevail against you. And so the road will be open to you to pass joyfully to the heavenly Jerusalem.³

¹ The enlargement of chapter xix. 5 of 1652.

² Wanting in 1652.

³ This chapter, with the exception of the last paragraph, appears as a subsection of chapter xix. in the *Spiritual Conflict* of Castaniza.

CHAP. LXVI

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH (*continued*)

Of the assault of the illusions and false appearances at the point of death

IF¹ our obstinate enemy, who never wearies to trouble us, should assail you with false appearances and transform himself into an angel of light, remain firm and steadfast in the knowledge of your nothingness, and say to him boldly : “I do not deserve visions, nor have I need of anything but the mercy of my Jesus and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Joseph, and the other Saints.”

And if indeed it should seem to you by many almost evident signs that these things were come from heaven, yet refuse them and drive them away from you as far as possible, and do not be afraid that this resistance, based upon your own unworthiness, will be displeasing to the Lord ; for, if the business is His, He will know well how to make it clear and you will lose nothing ; since He who gives grace to men does not take it away for acts which are done in humility.

These are the most common weapons which the enemy is accustomed to use against us in the last extremity. He tempts each one according to the particular inclinations to which he knows him to be most subject. Therefore before the hour of the last conflict draws near, we ought to arm ourselves aright and fight valiantly against our most violent passions and against

¹ The enlargement of chapter xix. 6 of 1652.

them which lord it over us, to make the victory easy at the time which cuts off from us every other time in which we might be able to do it.¹

¹ This also corresponds with the subsection of chapter xix. of Castaniza. There is a singular force in the closing words of the original and shorter edition: "il corso di così gloriosa vittoria. 'Pugnabis, contra eos usque ad interencionem. 3 Reg. 15.'" The *Spiritual Combat* has the assurance of a glorious victory. Trial is summed up in triumph. The cross of conflict gives place to the crown of victory.

APPENDIX I

THE ENGLISH EDITION OF 1656

THIS edition of the *Spiritual Combat* is noticed in the British Museum Catalogue under the name of Juan de Castaniza. It bears the press-mark 1121.d.10. In the absence from English libraries of the earlier Italian editions of the Shorter Recension it is valuable as representing the text as it was known to St. Francis de Sales.

The object of the translator, Robert Reade, was to present the original text, free from the additions of the Larger Recension. He is dependent on the Latin version of Lorichius, for on the title-page he describes it as : “The Spirituall Combat, worthily termed a Golden Treatise of Christian Perfection.” This is the “Tractatus vere Aureus de Perfectione Vitæ Christianæ” of the Latin version of 1591. In the letter to Abbot Mountagu, the translator says : “But I may safely assure, upon the credit of two pious persons who have lately publish’d it, the one in Italian, and the other in French (both which I have follow’d herein), that in this edition all those Additions and Paraphrases are omitted, and the treatise reduced to its original purity.”

The chapters in this edition of 1656 represent those to which reference is made by St. Francis de Sales in his *Introduction to the Devout Life* and in his *Letters*. They represent the original plan of the *Spiritual Combat*.

as it appeared in the second Venice edition of 1589. The chapters in the English version of 1656 are as follows :—

- Chap. i. In what consists Christian Perfection, and of foure meanes necessary to acquire it.
- Chap. ii. Of Diffidence in ourselves.
- Chap. iii. Of Confidence in God.
- Chap. iv. Of exercise : and first of the exercise of the understanding, which ought to be purg'd from all ignorance and Curiositie.
- Chap. v. Of the Exercise of the will : and of the end to which we ought to direct all our actions.
- Chap. vi. Of two wills which are in Man, and of the warre they make one against another.
- Chap. vii. In what manner we are to fight against the motions of our senses : and of the acts which the will ought to produce for obteyning the habits of vertues.
- Chap. viii. What we are to do when our Superior will seemes to be vanquish'd or altogether stifted by the inferior.
- Chap. ix. That we ought not to avoyd the occasions of fighting.
- Chap. x. In what manner we are to resist the soddayne motions of Passions.
- Chap. xi. In what manner we ought to fight against the vice of the flesh.
- Chap. xii. In what manner we are to resist negligence.
- Chap. xiii. How we ought to governe our senses.
- Chap. xiv. Of the Order and Method we are to hold in fighting against our enimies.
- Chap. xv. How we ought to behave our selves

when we feele our selves wounded in this Combat.¹

Chap. xvi. That the soldier of Jesus-Christ ought alwayes to remayne peaceable.

Chap. xvii. How the Devill endevors sometimes to hinder our Progresse in vertue, by making us divers Propositions of good things.

Chap. xviii. In what manner the Devill endevors to interrupt us in the way of vertue, by other good desires.

Chap. xix. How our Adversary uses all his art to cause such vertues as we have already obteyned, to be the occasion of our Ruine.

Chap. xx. That in this Combat we ought never to persuade our selves that we have conquer'd our enemies ; but still resume our exercises like beginners.

Chap. xxi. Of Prayer.

Chap. xxii. What Mentall Prayer is.

Chap. xxiii. Of Mentall Prayer which is made by way of Meditation.

Chap. xxiv. Another way of employing this Prayer by way of Meditation for obteyning of vertues.

Chap. xxv. How in the same manner of Prayer, we may employ the Meditation of the greatness and meritts of the B. Virgin.

Chap. xxvi. How we may use the same kind of Prayer upon the subject of the Angells and Saynts.

Chap. xxvii. Another manner of Meditation

¹ This and the following two chapters are referred to by St. Francis de Sales in a letter to the Abbess of Puy-d'Orbe, in April 1604. *Corr. Epist. Let. lx. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 434.*

upon the Crosse, or Passion of our Lord, to draw affections from it.

Chap. xxviii. Of Sensible Devotion, and of Spirituall Drynesse which we find sometymes in Prayer.¹

Chap. xxix. That the Holy Communion is a most powerfull Meane to obteyne victory over our Passions.

Chap. xxx. How the same B. Sacrament is a most profitable expedient to excite in us the love of God.

Chap. xxxi. Of Spirituall Communion.

Chap. xxxii. Of Thankes-giving.

Chap. xxxiii. Of the oblation which we ought to make of our selves to God.

Among these chapters of the Second Edition of 1589 are nine which were added to the original twenty-four chapters of the First Edition by request of Count Girolamo di Porcia : “Vi sono state dallo stesso Autore, a prieghi altrui, aggiunte alcune coselle, che serviranno di giovamento e consolazione ad ogni persona spirituale.”² These nine chapters may be chapters xxiii.-xxvii., xxix.-xxxii., in the edition of 1656.

Chapter xxi. introduces the fourth weapon of Holy Prayer. In chapter xxii. Mental Prayer is described as the best armour of proof against all enemies, adversities, and dangers. Chapter xxviii., on “Sensible Devotion,” makes frequent reference to the spiritual exercises which are endangered by “Spiritual Dryness.” This therefore may be chapter xxiii. of the First

¹ St. Francis de Sales refers to this chapter in a letter to Mad. de Chantal, July 1607. *Corr. Epist. Let. cxl. Ed. Migne, T. v. p. 638.*

² The Letter Dedicatory in the 2nd ed. of 1589.

Edition. Chapter xxxiii. represents in whole or in part the original conclusion of the spiritual combat. It would not seem to have been in the original purpose of Scupoli to touch upon the details of Meditation (ch. xxiii.-xxvii.) or to deal with the subject of the Holy Communion (ch. xxix.-xxxii.). The Holy Communion was recognised as an act of worship apart from all question of the spiritual combat of the soul. The chapters have the appearance of being added for the profit and consolation of those who had already profited by the original treatise.

APPENDIX II

THE ENGLISH EDITION OF 1652

THIS edition, which has been already described,¹ attributes the so-called "text" to Juan de Castaniza, and the "explication" to the Theatines. The "text" represents the Shorter Recension, and the purpose of the edition is to dovetail the additional matter of the Longer Recension into this text by way of explication.

The result is to reproduce the greater part of the *Spiritual Combat* as it is preserved to us in the Italian of Scupoli in an order different from that chosen by the author, with the addition of other chapters whose source has not been traced in the later editions of the Castaniza version of the *Spiritual Conflict*.

The relation of the edition of 1652 to that of the Shorter Recension as represented by the edition of 1656, and to that of the Longer Recension as represented by

¹ Introduction, c. iii. This edition is reprinted under the title "The Spiritual Conflict and Conquest. . . . Edited . . . by . . . Jerome Vaughan. 3rd Edition. Burns & Oates, London ; Benziger Bros., New York, 1903, 8vo."

the edition of 1750, may be seen by the following comparison:—

Ed. of 1652.	Ed. of 1656.	Ed. of 1750.
Chap. i.	Chap. i.	Chap. i.
Chap. ii.	Chap. ii.	Chap. ii.
Chap. iii.	Chap. iii.	Chaps. iii.-iv.
Chap. iv.	Chap. iv.	Chaps. vii.-ix.
Chap. v.	Chap. v.	Chaps. x.-xi.
Chap. vi.	Chap. vi.	Chap. xii.
Chap. vii.	Chap. vii.	Chap. xiii.
Chap. viii.	Chap. viii.	Chap. xiv.
Chap. ix.	Chap. ix.	Chap. xv.
Chap. x.	Chap. x.	Chap. xviii.
Chap. xi.	Chap. xi.	Chap. xix.
Chap. xii.	Chap. xii.	Chap. xx.
Chap. xiii.	Chap. xiii.	Chaps. xxi.-xxiv.
Chap. xiv.	Chap. xiv.	Chap. xvii.
Chap. xv.	Chap. xv.	Chaps. xxvi., xxv.
Chap. xvi.	Chap. xvi.	Chap. xxv.
Chap. xvii.	Chap. xvii.	Chap. xxix. ¹
Chap. xviii.	Chap. xviii.	Chap. xli., xxxi.
Chap. xviii. 1.	Wanting.	Chaps. xlii., xxxiv.
Chap. xviii. 2.	Wanting.	Chaps. xxxv.-xxxvi., xxxviii.
Chap. xviii. 3.	Wanting.	Chaps. xxxix.-xl.
Chap. xix.	Chap. xix.	Chap. xxxii.
Chap. xix. 1.	Wanting.	Chap. xlili.

¹ The relation is very obscure.

Ed. of 1652.	Ed. of 1656.	Ed. of 1750.
Chap. xix. 2.	Wanting.	Chap. lxii.
Chap. xix. 3.	Wanting.	Chap. lxiii.
Chap. xix. 4.	Wanting.	Chap. lxiv.
Chap. xix. 5.	Wanting.	Chap. lxv.
Chap. xix. 6.	Wanting.	Chap. lxvi.
Chap. xx.	Chap. xx.	Chap. xv.
Chap. xxi.	Chap. xxi.	Chap. xliv.
Chap. xxii.	Chap. xxii.	Chap. xlvi.
Chap. xxiii.	Chap. xxiii.	Chap. xlvi.
Chap. xxiv.	Chap. xxiv.	Chap. xlvii.
Chap. xxv.	Chap. xxv.	Chap. xlviii.
Chap. xxvi.	Chap. xxvi.	Chap. l.
Chap. xxvii.	Chap. xxvii.	Chap. li.-lii.
Chap. xxvii. 1.	Wanting.	Chap. lii.
Chap. xxviii.	Chap. xxviii.	Chap. lix.
Chap. xxix.	Chap. xxix.	Chap. liv.
Chap. xxx.	Chap. xxx.	Chap. lv.
Chap. xxxi.	Chap. xxxi.	Chap. lvi.
Chap. xxxii.	Chap. xxxii.	Chap. lvii.
Chap. xxxiii.	Chap. xxxiii.	Chap. lviii.
Chap. xxxiv. ¹	Wanting.	Wanting.
Chap. xxxv.	Wanting.	Wanting.
Chap. xxxvi.	Wanting.	Wanting.
Chap. xxxvii.	Wanting.	Wanting.
Chap. xxxviii.	Wanting.	Wanting.
Chap. xxxix.	Wanting.	Chap. lx.
Chap. xl.	Wanting.	Chap. lxi.

The titles of the chapters agree with those in the edition of 1656.

¹ These chapters are discussed in the Introduction, c. iii., and in the note on p. 274. The last words of chapter xl. of 1652 represent the original conclusion of the *Spiritual Combat* of Scupoli: "il corso di sì gloriosa vittoria." Cp. ed. of 1642 in Bibl. Vall. at Rome, press-mark I. iii. 184.(2).

APPENDIX III

THE ENGLISH EDITIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

UNDER the name of Scupoli:

1742.	London: F. Needham.	18mo ¹
1816.	Eighth ed.	12mo
1828.	Tenth ed.	12mo
1846.	London: J. H. Parker.	16mo ²
1856.	London: ^{part 1}	8vo ³
1868.	Frome Selwood.	12mo ³
1875, etc.	London, Oxford, Cambridge: Rivingtons.	16mo ⁴
1876, etc.	London, Oxford, Cambridge: Rivingtons.	32mo
1881, etc.		16mo ⁵
1884.	London: Suttaby & Co.	16mo
1904.	London: Burns & Oates.	8vo ⁶
1906.	London: Burns & Oates.	

¹ This was translated by J. T. from the French of Brignon.

² This is Dr Pusey's edition from the Italian, with historical introduction. It is adapted.

³ A new translation from the Italian edition of 1737. It is also adapted.

⁴ Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics.

⁵ Translated and edited by W. H. Hutchings. *Aids to the Inner Life.*

⁶ This contains the Supplement, the Pathway of Paradise, the Sufferings of Christ, and the Method of Assisting the Sick and Dying.

Under the name of Castaniza :

1656.	Paris :	16mo ¹
1652.	Paris : Second ed.	12mo ²
1698.	London :	12mo ³
1710.	London : Second ed.	8vo
1874.	London :	8vo ⁴
1893.	London: Art and Book Co.	8vo
1903.	London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger.	8vo ⁵

APPENDIX IV

THE "CATALOGO CRONOLOGICO" OF THE PADUA EDITION OF 1750

THIS Catalogue was based upon the labours of D. Rafael Savonarola. It was reproduced by D. Gaetano Volpi in the edition of 1750,⁶ with notes and quotations from the Dedications of the various editions. It is the most conclusive proof for the authorship of Scupoli.

¹ The translation by R. Reade, under title of the *Spiritual Combat*. *Cp.* Appendix i.

² The Douay edition, with "text" and "explication," under title of the *Spiritual Conflict*. The *Spiritual Conquest* is bound with it. *Cp.* Appendix ii.

³ The edition of Richard Lucas, based upon the Douay edition of 1652, under title of the *Spiritual Combat*. This is the edition known to Bp. Wilson. *Cp.* Introduction, c. v.

⁴ This is Canon Vaughan's reprint of the *Spiritual Conflict and Conquest* of 1652.

⁵ The third edition of Canon Vaughan's edition.

⁶ *Il Combattimento Spirituale* (Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1750), p. xlivi.

1589. Venezia : Giovanni e Paolo Gioliti, in-12mo ¹
 1589. Venezia : Giovanni e Paolo Gioliti, in-12mo ²
 1590. Venezia : Giov. e Paolo Gioliti, in-12mo ³
 1590. Versione e Edizione Germanica ⁴
 1591. Venezia : Gioliti, in-12mo
 1591. Friburgi in Brisgovia : Versio Latina, in-16mo ⁵
 1592. Firenze : Giovanni Sermartelli, in-8vo
 1593. Milano : ⁶ (Th.N.)
 1594. Bergamo : Comin Ventura (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1594. Venezia : Gioliti, in-12mo
 1594. Fermo : Gennaro de' Monti e Giov. Bombella.
 1594. Cremona : Barruchino Lane ⁷
 1595. Parigi : Prima Versione Francese ⁸
 1596. Firenze : Filippo Giunti, in-8vo
 1598. Messina : Pietro Brea, in-12mo ⁹
 1598. Lugduni : Versio Gallica
 1598. Londini : Versio Anglicula ¹⁰

¹ This is the first edition in twenty-four chapters.

² The second edition of thirty-three chapters, the source of all the Shorter Recensions.

³ Identical with the last. Dom Gaetano Volpi gave his copies of these and other early editions to the Theatine Fathers of Padua.

⁴ Referred to in title of the Latin edition of Lorichius, 1591.

⁵ This, the Latin edition of Lorichius, is the text afterwards attributed to Juan de Castaniza.

⁶ In this edition it is attributed to the Theatines. The "Dolori Mentali" appears for first time.

⁷ Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

⁸ The authorship in this edition is attributed by the Feuillant Fathers to Count Girolamo di Porcia, the first editor.

⁹ This is a copy of the Venice edition of 1594.

¹⁰ The first English edition from the Italian, by the Jesuit Father Gerard. It is neither in the British Museum nor in the Bodleian.

1599. In Germania : Versio Germanica¹
 1599. Friburgi in Brisgovia : Vers. Lat., in-16mo²
 1599. Versio Asiatica³
 1599. Versio Indica⁴
 1599. Piacenza : Giovanni Bazzachi, in-12mo⁵
 1599. Piacenza : Giov. Bazzachi (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1599. Duaci : Versio Anglicula, in-12mo⁶
 1599. Napoli : Tarquinio Longo (Th. N.), in-12mo⁷
 1599. Napoli : Tarquinio Longo (Th.N.), in-12mo⁸
 1599. Venezia : Gioliti, in-12mo
 1599. Venezia : Gioliti, in-12mo
 1599. Milano : Girolamo Bordoni e Pietro Locarne
 (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1600. Firenze : Filippo Giunti, in-8vo⁹
 1600. Napoli : Tarquinio Longo (Th.N.), in-
 12mo¹⁰
 1601. Bologna : Giovambattista Bellagatta, in-12mo
 1602. Firenze : Michelangelo Sermatelli, in-12mo

¹ This is referred to in the Douay edition of 1663.

² This is the edition of Lorichius.

³ This is referred to in the Piacenza edition of 1599.

⁴ Also referred to in the Piacenza edition of 1599.

⁵ It is stated in this edition that the *Spiritual Combat* had been printed in twenty of the chief cities of Italy, and had been translated into all the languages of Europe, as well as into the Asiatic and Indian languages.

⁶ The second English version. It is referred to in the Rouen edition of 1613. It would be the Shorter Recension.

⁷ The first edition of the Longer Recension. It contains the Dedication to Jesus Christ, signed by Scupoli, and his Notice to the Reader.

⁸ The second part, containing the "Modo di apparechiarsi in tempo della morte," i.e. chapters lxii.-lxvi. of the *Spiritual Combat*.

⁹ The "Pathway of Paradise" appears for the first time in this edition, "come si crede," as Volpi says. The edition is in-12mo.

¹⁰ This is inferred from the third edition of 1603.

1603. Bologna: gli Eredi Rossi (Th.N.)¹
 1603. Cremona: Barrachino Lane, in-12mo
 1603. Napoli: Tarquinio Longo (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1603. Napoli: Tarquinio Longo (Th.N.), in-12mo²
 1605. Napoli: Tarquinio Longo (Th.N.), in-4to³
 1606. Roma: (Th.N.), in-12mo⁴
 1606. Coloniæ Agrippinæ: Versio Latina, in-12mo⁵
 1606. Duaci: Versio Latina ex Anglica
 1607. Piacenza: Giovanni Bazzachi (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1608. Barcelona: Giovanni Simeone⁶
 1608. Parigi: Nuova traduzione Francese (Th.N.),
 in-24mo⁷
 1609. Pavia: Andrea Viani (Th.N.), in-12mo
 1609. Friburgi in Brisgovia: Latina Versio Lorichii,
 in-16mo⁸
 1609. Venezia: Bernardo Giunti e Giovamb. Ciotti
 (Th.N.), in-12mo⁹
 1609. Barcelona: Giovanni Simeone (Th.N.), in-
 12mo⁹

¹ This edition was published at the instance of Simone Perlasca.

² The second part.

³ The two parts combined.

⁴ This is thought to be the edition used by D. S., in his French version of 1608.

⁵ The Latin version of Lorichius.

⁶ Perhaps a Spanish version.

⁷ Translated by D. S., Professor of Theology in the University of Paris, and dedicated to Francis de Sales. It refutes the theory of the Feuillant Fathers, and attributes the authorship to the Theatines.

⁸ This edition was used by Dom Carlo di Palma in preparing the Roman edition of 1657. A copy of it is preserved at S. Silvestro in Rome, with attestation of thirteen of the Theatine Fathers. *Cp. Introd. c. ii.*

⁹ A new Spanish translation by Luigi de Vera, Secretary to the Viceroy of Catalonia, based upon the Naples edition, and attributed to the Theatines.

1610. Napoli: Giovamb. Gargani, ed Ott. Nucci
 (Th.N.), in-16mo¹
1610. Napoli: Giovamb. Gargani, ed Ott. Nucci
 (Th.N.), in 16-mo²
1610. Bologna: Bartolomeo Cocchi (L.S.), in-12mo³
1610. Bologna: Bartolomeo Cocchi (L.S.), in-12mo⁴
1610. Napoli: (Th.N.), in-12mo
1611. Pavia: Andrea Viani (Th.N.), in-12mo
1612. Duaci: per Joannem Bellerum, in-16mo⁵
1613. Rothomagi . . . Versio Anglica Gherardi tertio
 edita
1615. Duaci: per Balthassarem Bellerum⁶
1615. Palermo: Angelo Orlandi e Decio Cirillo
 (L.S.), in-12mo⁷

¹ The printer was Lucretio, not Ottavio Nucci. The Dedication by Lazzaro Scorrigo is dated 8th March 1610, nine months before the death of Scupoli. The chapters of the *Spiritual Combat* number forty-nine.

² Part ii., containing the "Nuova Aggiunta," or Supplement, in thirty-seven chapters.

³ This edition was published at the instance of Simone Perlasca, who was the first to name the author on the title-page. It was published immediately after his death. *Cp. Introd.* c. ii. The "Modo di recitare la Corona della Madonna," in five chapters, was reprinted in this edition from the Naples edition of 1610.

⁴ This is dedicated by Carlo Manolessa to the Duchess of Modena.

⁵ The Latin edition of the English Benedictines of Douay, in which the authorship was first ascribed to Juan de Castaniza. *Cp. Introduction*, c. iii.

⁶ The title-page of this edition is based upon that of the Latin version of Lorichius, with the words "primum Italice scriptus" altered to "olim Hispanice a R. P. D. Joanne Castagniza editus, postea Italice," to support the theory of the Benedictine authorship. *Cp. Intr.* c. iii. This is described as "Editio novissima ad exemplar Hispanicum castigata et aucta." It contains sixty chapters.

⁷ This was published at the instance of Ambrozio Maria,

1615. Bologna : Cocchi (L.S.), in-12mo¹
 1615. Roma : Guglielmo Facciotti, in-12mo²
 1615. Roma : Ignazio de Lazzeri (L.S.), in-12mo³
 1615. Napoli : Giovamb. Gargano e Lorenzo Nucci
 (Th.N.), in-16mo
 1622. Moguntiæ . . . Versio Latina Lorichii⁴
 1625. Duaci . . . per Balthassarem Bellerum⁵
 1625. Valentiaæ . . . per Philippum Aleis, Versio
 Hispanica⁶
 1628. Cæsaraugustæ . . . per Joh. de la Naxa
 Quadesner⁶
 1630. Burgibressæ in Burgundia : Joh. Tainturier
 (Th.N.), in-24mo⁷
 1634. Roano . . . per Roberto Ferme, Trad. Franc.
 1634. Venezia : per Comti e la Nou, in-12mo
 1640. Parigi : Niccolo e Giovanni della Costa, in-
 8vo⁸
 1640. Parigi : Nicc. e Giov. della Costa. Versione
 Latina⁹
 1642. Parisiis : per Johannem Balaine, in-12mo
 1643. Parisiis : apud Sebastianum Aure.

Doctor of Theology, one of the friends of Scupoli. The chapters number forty-nine. It is ascribed to Scupoli.

¹ A reprint of the Bologna edition of 1610.

² It has the title "Battaglia Spirituale."

³ This edition was issued by order of P. Andrea Pescara, "Preposito Generale dei Teatini," under name of Scupoli.

⁴ On MS. authority of D. Rafael Savonarola.

⁵ This is described as "Versio Latina Lorichii," in the Preface by Du Buc in the Roman edition of 1698.

⁶ The Castilian version of Aloys de Vera.

⁷ The French version of D. S., dedicated to St. Francis de Sales.

⁸ This is a reprint of the second edition of the Gioliti of 1589 in thirty-three chapters.

⁹ These editions point to the desire to get to the original text as known to St. Francis de Sales.

1643. Coloniæ Agrippinæ : Tesor del Monte (L.S.),
in-12mo¹
1643. Lugduni : apud Claudium Cayme, Vers. Lat.
Lor., in-16mo
1643. "Versione Francese, appresso lo stesso" prob.,
in-16mo²
1643. Duaci : per Claudium Cayme, Vers. Lat. Lor.,
in-16mo
1643. Coloniæ Agrippinæ : Tesor del Monte (L.S.),
in-8vo³
1644. Parisiis : apud Petrum de Bresche, in-8vo⁴
1645. Parisiis . . . Versio Latina Lorichii (Th.N.)⁵
1646. Palermo : Roselli, in-12mo⁶
1646. Parisiis : Rolet le Duc (Th.N.), in-24mo⁷
1648. Parigi : Traduzione Francese, in-12mo⁸
1649. Parigi : Trad. Franc., in-12mo
1649. Bellovacini Gallia : Versio Gallica, in-12mo
1649. Roma : Dragondelli (L.S.), in-12mo⁹
1650. Verona : Rossi (L.S.), in-12mo
1652. Verona : Rossi, in-24mo
1653. Bologna : gli Eredi Dozza (L.S.), in-24mo¹⁰

¹ This is the first of the editions associated with the name of Fabio Chigi, at this time Apostolic Nuncio, afterwards Pope Alexander VII. *Gp. Intr. c. ii.*

² On MS. authority of D. Raf. Savonarola.

³ Similar to the Cologne edition, in-12mo.

⁴ This is described as "Versio Latina Lorichii juxta exemplar Duacense Monachorum Benedictinorum, 1612."

⁵ This is referred to by Du Buc in his Roman edition of 1698.

⁶ This is a reprint of the second edition of the Gioliti of 1589.

⁷ The French version of D. S.

⁸ This is the French version of G. D. M., made from the edition of the Gioliti (probably that reprinted at Paris in 1640), and dedicated to Anne of Austria.

⁹ This is dedicated to Fabio Chigi, now Cardinal.

¹⁰ A reprint of the Bologna edition of 1610.

1653. Parisiis : apud Sebastianum Maucroy (L.S.),
in-12mo ¹
1654. Parisiis : Nova Gallica versio (L.S.), in-fol.
1655. Parisiis : per Petrum le Petit, in-8vo
1655. Roma : (L.S.), in-12mo ¹
1655. Milano : Filippo Gisolci (L.S.), in-12mo
1656. "Prientead al Paris, nova Versio Anglicia" ²
1656. Parisiis : ap. Seb. Maucroy (L.S.), in-12mo
1656. Parisiis : par Silvestrum Puerau (L.S.), in-12mo ³
1656. . . . Belgico Idiomate, in-12mo ⁴
1656. Bassano : Giov. Ant. Remondini (L.S.),
in-24mo ⁵
1657. Roma : Mascardi (L.S.), in-12mo ⁵
1658. Parisiis : per Guillelmum de Layne (L.S.),
in-12mo ⁶
1658. Parigi : per Goffredo Marcher (L.S.) ⁷
1658. Parisiis : in Regia Typographia (L.S.), in-12mo ⁸

¹ This edition is dedicated to Cardinal Fabio Chigi.

² This is the edition of Robert Reade. It is described by Volpi: "Exstat Ulyssipone in Collectione Sousiana." *Cp. Appendix i.*

³ "Cantabrico Idiomate."

⁴ On the evidence of Masotti, Barrattieri, du Buc, and others.

⁵ This is the important edition of Dom Carlo di Palma, C. Th. It is based on original texts, and divided into two parts. It is the authoritative edition of the *Spiritual Combat*. It is dedicated by D. Francesco Carafa, General of the Theatine Fathers, to Pope Alexander VII.

⁶ The French version of D. Olympio Masotti, C. Th. It is in two parts. His introduction defends the authorship of Scupoli against the Feuillants and the Benedictines of Douay.

⁷ An Italian version, with portrait of Scupoli, dedicated by D. Olymp. Masotti to Anne of Austria.

⁸ This is the first of the editions printed at the Royal Press at Paris. It is dedicated by D. Olym. Masotti to

1658. Parigi: per Goff. Marcher e Gugl. Layne
 (L.S.), in-8vo
1658. Parisiis: per Claudium Audinet (L.S.), in-
 12mo¹
1658. Parisiis: Versio Hispanica Joannis Franci.
 (L.S.), in-12mo
1659. Parigi: per Goff. Marcher (L.S.), in-12mo²
1659. Parisiis: per Antonium Christium (L.S.), in-
 12mo³
1659. Parisiis: Anon. Versio Castellano idiomate
 (L.S.), in-12mo
1659. Parisiis: per Gottifredum Marcher (L.S.),
 12mo⁴
1660. Parigi: nella Stamperia Regia (L.S.), in
 fogl.⁵
1660. Parigi: nella Stamperia Regia (L.S.), in
 fogl.⁶
1660. Parigi: per Guillelmum Layne (L.S.), in-
 12mo⁷

Anne of Austria. It is described as a French version according to the Italian edition of Rome, *i.e.* the edition of 1657.

¹ "Cantabro Idiomate."

² Part i. is dedicated to Alexander VII.; part ii., printed by Guglielmo Layne, has a portrait of Scupoli.

³ "Idioma . . . Julio Card. Mazzarino dicata."

⁴ The second edition of the French version of Masotti.

⁵ "La più bella di tutti l'Edizioni, fatta per ordine della Regina Anna Austriaca, la quale con eroica pia magnificenza ne mando in dono un Esemplare nobilmente legato a tutte le Case de' Padri Teatini del Mondo." It was dedicated to Alexander VII. It contains a Life of the Author, and his likeness. It represents the standard edition of 1657. The Preface is by D. Olymp. Masotti.

⁶ This edition is identical with the last, but dedicated by Masotti to Anne of Austria, and offered to her in recognition of her munificence (Vezzosi).

⁷ The third Italian edition of Masotti, with the Royal Arms.

1661. Monachii: per Lucam Straub (L.S.), in-
16mo¹
1661. Lugduni: per Christophorum Fourmy (Th.
N.), in-12mo²
1661. Parisiis: per Guillelmum Layne (L.S.), in-
8vo³
1661. Venezia: per Niccolò Pezzana (L.S.), in-
24mo⁴
1662. Parisiis: per Sebastianum Martini, in-12mo⁵
1662. Parisiis: per Petrum le Petit (L.S.), in-
12mo
1662. Francofurti . . . Versio Hispanica . . .
1662. . . . Versio et Editio Germanica⁶
1663. Monachii: per Lucam Straub (L.S.), in-32mo⁷
1664. Duaci: per Godefridum Marcher (L.S.), in-
24mo⁸
1664. Parisiis: apud Dionysium Thierry (L.S.), in-
12mo⁹
1664. Venezia: Niccolò Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo

¹ The Latin version of Carolus Antonius Meazza, entitled in the third edition of 1667 as "Certamen Spirituale." It was dedicated to Ferdinand Maria, Duke of Bavaria.

² This is a reprint of the French version of G. D. M. in 1648 and 1649.

³ The third French edition of Masotti.

⁴ No edition is traceable to Venice since 1634. This new edition was frequently reprinted.

⁵ The Latin version of Lorichius. This had last been printed at Paris in 1645.

⁶ This is referred to by Meazza in his edition of 1663.

⁷ "Juxta Latinum exemplar P. Meazza."

⁸ The fifth edition of the French version of Masotti. Marcher was one of his Paris publishers.

⁹ The first Latin edition of Masotti. It was approved by the Theatines of Paris, December 1662, by the General of the Order, D. Angelo Pistacchi; and afterwards at Rome, 13th May 1663.

1664. Monachii: per Lucam Straub (L.S.), in-32mo¹
 1664. Parigi: nella Regia Stamperia (L.S.), in-12mo
 1665. Roma: Ignazio de Lazzeri (L.S.), in-12mo
 1665. Parisiis: per Claudium Audinet, in-12mo²
 1665. Parisiis . . . in qual Lingua non si sa (L.S.)
 1666. Parisiis: per Andream Cramoysi (L.S.),
 in-12mo³
 1666. Parisiis: per Dionysium Thierry (L.S.),
 in-12mo⁴
 1667. Monachii: per Lucam Straub (L.S.),
 in-32mo⁵
 1667. Duaci: (L.S.), in-24mo⁶
 1667. Parisiis: per Guillelmum de Layne, in-12mo
 1668. Cunei . . . Achillis Galiardi nomine . . .⁷
 1668. Parisiis: per Dion. Thierry (L.S.), in-12mo⁸
 1669. Parisiis: per Seb. Maucroy (L.S.), in-12mo
 1669. Milano: Lodovico Monza (L.S.), in-12mo⁹

¹ The third Latin edition of Meazza, dedicated to Maximilian of Bavaria.

² Probably a reprint of the Paris edition of 1658, "Cantabro idiomate."

³ "Lusitano sermone."

⁴ The Latin edition of Masotti, dedicated to Henrietta Adelaide, Princess and Electress of Bavaria, the foundress of the Theatine house at Munich. She is said to have spent a million florins on the church and house.

⁵ The fourth edition of Meazza. These successive editions show the activity of the Theatines of Munich among the educated classes.

⁶ The French edition of Masotti. This is the second edition of Masotti published at Douay since the time of the Castaniza edition of 1652.

⁷ This edition ascribes the *Spiritual Combat* to Father Gagliardi. *Cp. Introd.* iii.

⁸ "Gallice."

⁹ Dedicated to P. Massimo Borromeo, Provost of the Theatines of the house of S. Antonio. The first edition printed at Milan since 1655.

1670. Milano : Giuseppe Morelli (L.S.), in-12mo
 1670. Parisiis : per Petrum le Petit (L.S.)
 1671. Venezia : Niccolò Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1671. Milano : Lodovico Monza (L.S.), in-24mo
 1672. Parisiis : Nova Gallica Versio (L.S.)
 1672. Parisiis : Gallica versio et Editio Servi Dei¹
 1672. Parigi :² (L.S.)
 1672. Matriiti : Nova Hispanica versio (L.S.)
 1672. Lugduni : Joan. e Claud. Cartheron (L.S.),
 in-12mo³
 1673. Matriiti : Bern. Villadiego (L.S.), in-8vo⁴
 1673. Milano : Lod. Monza (L.S.), in-24mo
 1673. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1673. Francofurti : Joh. Petr. Zapatte (L.S.)⁵
 1674. Monachii : Luc. Straub (L.S.), in-32mo⁶
 1674. Roma : Ign. de' Lazzeri (L.S.), in-12mo
 1676. Parisiis : per Antonium Berzier⁷
 1676. Venezia : Ben. Miloco (L.S.), in-24mo
 1676. Parisiis : Petr. le Petit (L.S.), in-12mo
 1677. Monachii : Hæredes Straub (L.S.), in-32mo⁸
 1678. Venezia : Giacomo Zini (L.S.), in-12mo
 1678. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1680. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1680. Parisiis : Guil. Layne (Th.N.), in-8vo⁹

¹ This is referred to in an edition of 1677.

² Reprint of the Roman edition of 1657, with the Preface of Masotti.

³ The French version of Masotti.

⁴ The Castilian version of Bruno de Solis.

⁵ A German version.

⁶ A Latin version.

⁷ "Ex Castanizæ, ut aiunt, Autographa Gallice reddita a P. D. Gabriele Gerberon, Benedictini ordinis, cui Bibliopolia ipse suam de Auctore sententiam adjecit, sed pereram, ut satis P. Inn. Raf. Savonarola in Diss. perspexit."

⁸ The sixth Latin edition of Meazza.

⁹ The French version of G. D. M.

1681. Parisiis: Guil. Layne (Th.N.), in-8vo
 1681. Lugduni: Claud. Cartheron (L.S.), in-16mo¹
 1681. Venezia: Stefano Curti (L.S.), in-12mo
 1681. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo²
 1682. Roma: Ben. Tizzone (L.S.), in-12mo³
 1683. Roma: Gius. Vannacci (L.S.), in-8vo⁴
 1685. Jeroslaviæ . . . in Jeroslav. Claustro (L.S.), in-4to⁵
 1685. Roma: Gius. Vannacci (L.S.), in-8vo
 1685. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1685. Parma: Galeazzo Rosati (L.S.), in-12mo
 1685. Milano: Marelli (L.S.), in-12mo
 1685. Ulyssipone . . . Lusit. idiom. (L.S.), in-12mo
 1685. Matriti: Laur. Garzia (L.S.), in-12mo⁶
 1685. Parma: Gius. Rosetti (L.S.), in-12mo
 1687. Venezia: Miloco (L.S.), in-24mo⁷
 1688. Parisiis: in-12mo⁸
 1688. Venezia: Lovisa (L.S.), in 24mo⁹

¹ The French version of Masotti.

² This is the sixth edition published at Venice between 1676 and 1681.

³ “Ediz. infelicissima e per la carta, e pei caratteri, e per gli errori.”

⁴ “Ornata d’una erud. Pref. del P. Giordano Vitteleschi. Romano, Ch. Reg.”

⁵ “Ab Italico in Illyrico-Polonum Idioma versa ab Adeodato Niersesovichitz, Benedictino Pœnitentiariorum.” It is a tacit repudiation by the Benedictines of the authorship of Castaniza.

⁶ A Spanish version ascribed to Scupoli.

⁷ This is a copy of the edition of D. Carlo di Palma of 1657.

⁸ The first edition of the new French version of Fr. Jean Brignon, of the Society of Jesus. It is based on the edition of Masotti, but leaves the authorship an open question. It is the source of some of the English translations of the eighteenth century.

⁹ “Tutte le Edizioni sin qui registrate furon fatte nel decorso di un secolo appunto, e si contano sopra 180, senza quelle che non giunsero allo notizia dell: Autore del nostro Catalogo” (Volpi, p. lx.).

1689. Lugduni: Ant. Moulin, in-24mo¹
 1689. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1689. Genova: Casamara (L.S.), in-12mo²
 1690. Lucca: Marescandolo, in-12mo³
 1690. Lovanii . . . Anon. Gall. Vers.⁴
 1690. Bassano: Giov. Ant. Remondini (L.S.), in-
 24mo⁵
 1690. Bologna: Gius. Longhi (L.S.), in-24mo
 1691. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1691. Col. Agrip.: ap. Gerontium Noeticum, in-
 12mo
 1691. Bruxellis: per Franc. Foppens⁵
 1694. Bologna: Longhi (L.S.), in-24mo
 1695. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1695. Venezia: Greg. Tramontini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1696. Venezia: (pt. ii.) Greg. Tramontini (L.S.),
 in-24mo
 1696. Bassano: Remondini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1696. Parisiis: Joh. Villette (L.S.), in-12mo⁶
 1696. Lugduni: Hor. da Moulin, in-12mo⁷
 1696. Lugduni: Anton. Moulin, in-24mo
 1696. Lugduni: Anton. Besson (L.S.), in-24mo⁸

¹ After the version of Brignon.

² Dedicated by P. D. Andr. Valdataro, Ch. Reg., to the Doge Bandinello Negroni.

³ This edition repeats the story of the Sacristan of S. Nicetius, and ascribes it to Achille Gagliardi.

⁴ This is referred to in the Brussels edition of 1714.

⁵ The French version of Brignon.

⁶ "Versio et Editio Gallica, P. Alexii du Buc, Cl. Reg., in Romana Sapientia Controversiorum Professoris; qui Apologetica instituta Dissertatione Laurentii Scupoli, adversantibus prostratis egregie gloriam propugnat; atque Parisiensi Archiepiscopo Cardinali de Noailles eam dicat."

⁷ The French version of Brignon; so also is the following,

⁸ The French version of Masotti.

1696. Lugduni: Ant. Besson, in-12mo¹
 1697. Ulyssipone: Mich. Deslandes²
 1697. Bassano: Remondini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1698. Roma: Gius. Vannacci (L.S.), in-12mo³
 1699. Bruxellis: Franc. Foppens, in-12mo⁴
 1700. Roma: Ant. de' Rossi (L.S.), in-8vo
 1700. Roma: Ign. de' Lazzeri (L.S.), in-12mo⁵
 1700. Parma: Gius. Rosetti, in-12mo⁵
 1701. Parma: Rosetti (L.S.), in-12mo⁶
 1703. Venezia: Lovisa (L.S.), in-24mo
 1703. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1704. Bassano: Remondini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1704. Bologna: Cost. Pisarri (L.S.), in-24mo
 1705. Roma: Gius. Vannacci (L.S.), in-12mo⁷
 1707. Ulyssipone: Val. a Costa (L.S.), in-24mo
 1708. Genova: Ant. Franchelli (L.S.), in-12mo
 1708. Bruxellis: Fr. Foppens, in-24mo
 1710. Venezia: Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1711. Milano: Marelli, in-12mo
 1712. Bassano: Remondini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1712. Barcinone . . . Joh. Texeido (L.S.)⁸

¹ This again is the Brignon version. The interest shown by the edition of Du Buc probably called forth these four editions.

² A new Portuguese version.

³ "Per opera del P. Alessio de Buc": cf. the Paris edition of 1696. It is dedicated to Cardinal Buglione.

⁴ The Brignon version.

⁵ The story of the Sacristan of S. Nicetius is copied from the Lucca edition of 1690.

⁶ This edition was called forth by the last in vindication of the authorship of Scupoli. It contains an inquiry into the whole subject of the authorship by D. Francesco Barattieri, Cl. Reg. It is dedicated to Isabella Farnese.

⁷ The edition of Du Buc.

⁸ A Spanish edition attributed to Scupoli.

1712. Matriti : (L.S.), in-8vo¹
 1713. Francofurti : German. idiom.²
 1714. Bruxellis : Fr. Foppens, in-24mo³
 1714. Ceneda : Lovisa (L.S.), in-24mo
 1714. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1715. Genova: Giovamb. Franchelli (L.S.), in-12mo
 1718. Venezia e Bassano: Remondini (L.S.), in-24mo
 1722. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1722. Viennæ in Austria : J. Bapt. Schilghem, in-12mo⁴
 1723. Viennæ in Austria : J. Bapt. Schilghem, in-12mo⁵
 1723. Venetiis : apud Antonium Bortoli (L.S.), in-32mo⁶
 1724. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1724. Padova : Giuseppe Comino (L.S.), in-8vo⁷
 1725. Roma : dalla Stamperia Vaticana (L.S.), in-8vo⁸
 1728. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1729. Milano : Marelli (L.S.), in-12mo

¹ The Castilian version of de Solis, from the Madrid edition of 1673. The theory of the Spanish origin of the *Spiritual Combat* does not seem to have been accepted in Spain.

² The authorship is attributed to Gagliardi.

³ The Brignon version.

⁴ "Pugnæ Spiritualis, P. ii., a Damiano Gonzalez del Cueto Hispano, patrio idiomate conversa, et B. V. Mariæ . . . dicata."

⁵ "P. ii., a Gonzalez Imp. Elizabethæ Caroli vi conjugi dicata."

⁶ An Armenian version in two volumes.

⁷ The first edition edited by D. Gaetano Volpi, from the Paris edition of 1660, and from one of the standard editions of Rome. The errors of the Parma edition of 1701 are corrected. It is dedicated to S. Gaetano Tiene.

⁸ It is dedicated to Pope Benedict XIII.

1729. Milano : Mario Vigone (L.S.), in-12mo
 1730. Col. Agrip.: Fr. Metternich (L.S.), in-12mo ¹
 1733. Col. Agrip.: (L.S.), in-12mo ²
 1735. Bologna : Longhi (L.S.), in-24mo
 1735. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1737. Parisiis : Gall. Vers. P. J. Brignonis, in-24mo
 1737. Barcinone : J. Texeido (L.S.)
 1737. Padova : Gius. Comino (L.S.), in-8vo ³
 1737. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1738. Roma : Giov. Zempel (L.S.), in-12mo
 1740. Milano : Fr. Agnelli (L.S.), in-12mo
 1741. Roma : dalla Stamperia Vaticana (L.S.), in-
 24mo
 1741. Venezia : Pezzana (L.S.), in-24mo
 1742. Venezia : Simone Occhi (L.S.), in-12mo
 1746. Trento : Giovambattista Novanni (L.S.), in-
 24mo
 1747. Venezia : Giovanni Tavernini (L.S.), in-
 18mo ⁴
 1750. Padova : appr. Giuseppe Comino (L.S.), in-
 8vo ⁵

The total number of editions in this Catalogue is 252. Of these 140 are under the name of Lorenzo Scupoli (L.S.) ; twenty-eight under the name of the

¹ The Latin version of Masotti.

² Vol. ii. The Latin version of Meazza.

³ The second edition by Volpi, with "Avviso" on the "Dolori Mentali."

⁴ The title reads: "Il Comb. Spir. del P. D. Lor. Scupoli, Ch. Reg. Teat., ridotto in x. Giorni di Esercizi Spirituali . . . dell' orig. Franc. di C. Regnier." The translation was made by D. Giovamb. Negri, Ch. Reg. Teat.

⁵ This, which may now be regarded as the definitive edition of the works of Scupoli, has been noticed in the Introduction, ch. ii. *ad fin.*

Theatines (Th.N.) ; one under that of Girolamo di Porcia ; four under that of Castaniza ; and three under that of Gagliardi. The influence of Brignon accounts for most of the anonymous editions in the eighteenth century. The thirty anonymous editions issued during the lifetime of Scupoli are due to his own modesty. This catalogue is itself almost sufficient to vindicate once and for all the authorship of the *Spiritual Combat*.

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